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the fact that the β function is not zero, the theory is not conformally invariant. The theory is also not renormalizable in the traditional sense, as the coupling constant λ has a negative mass dimension.

Despite these issues, the theory is of great interest because it provides a simple example of a theory that is not renormalizable but still has a well-defined perturbative expansion. The theory is also of interest because it is a simple example of a theory that is not conformally invariant but still has a fixed point.

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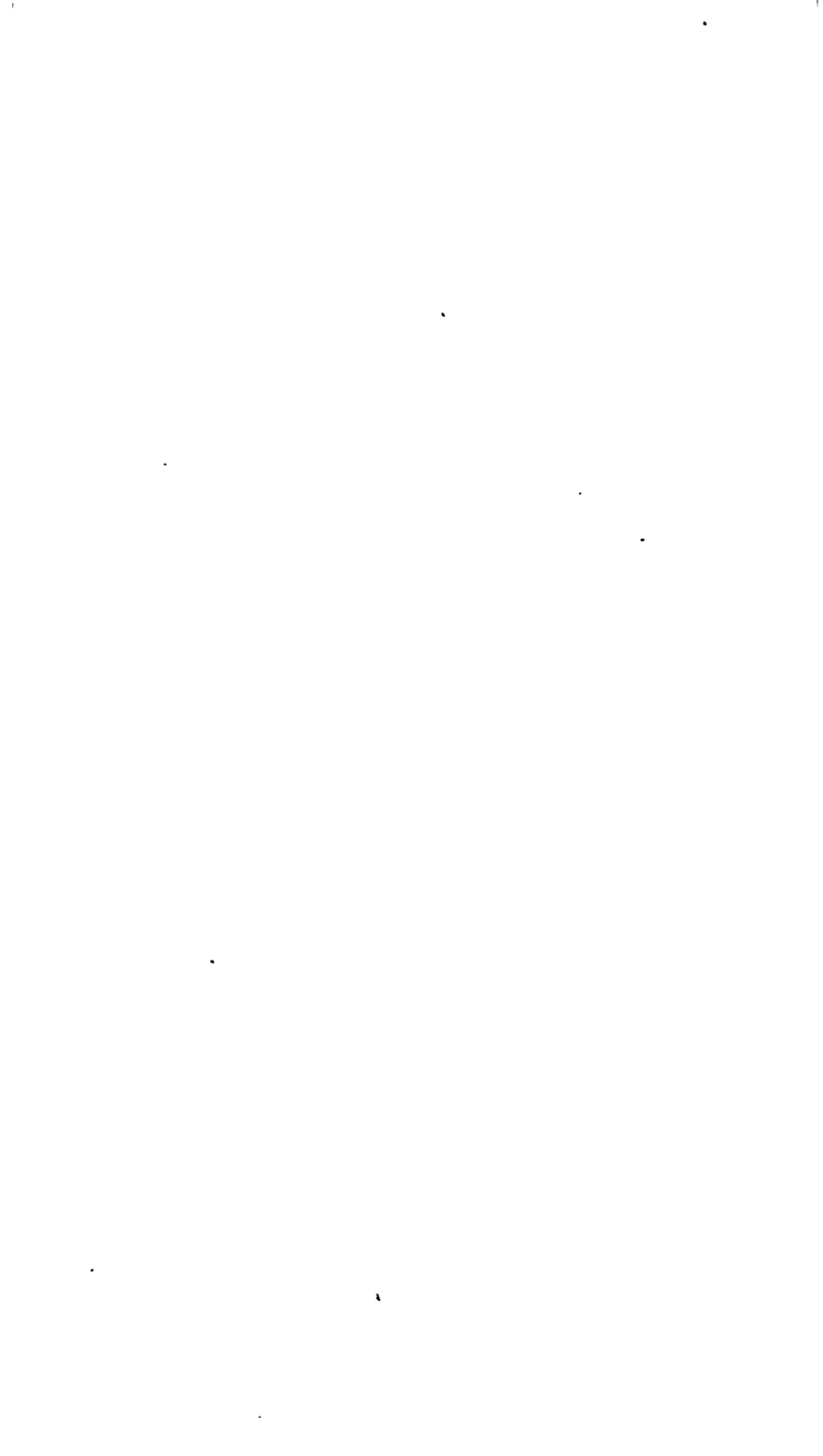
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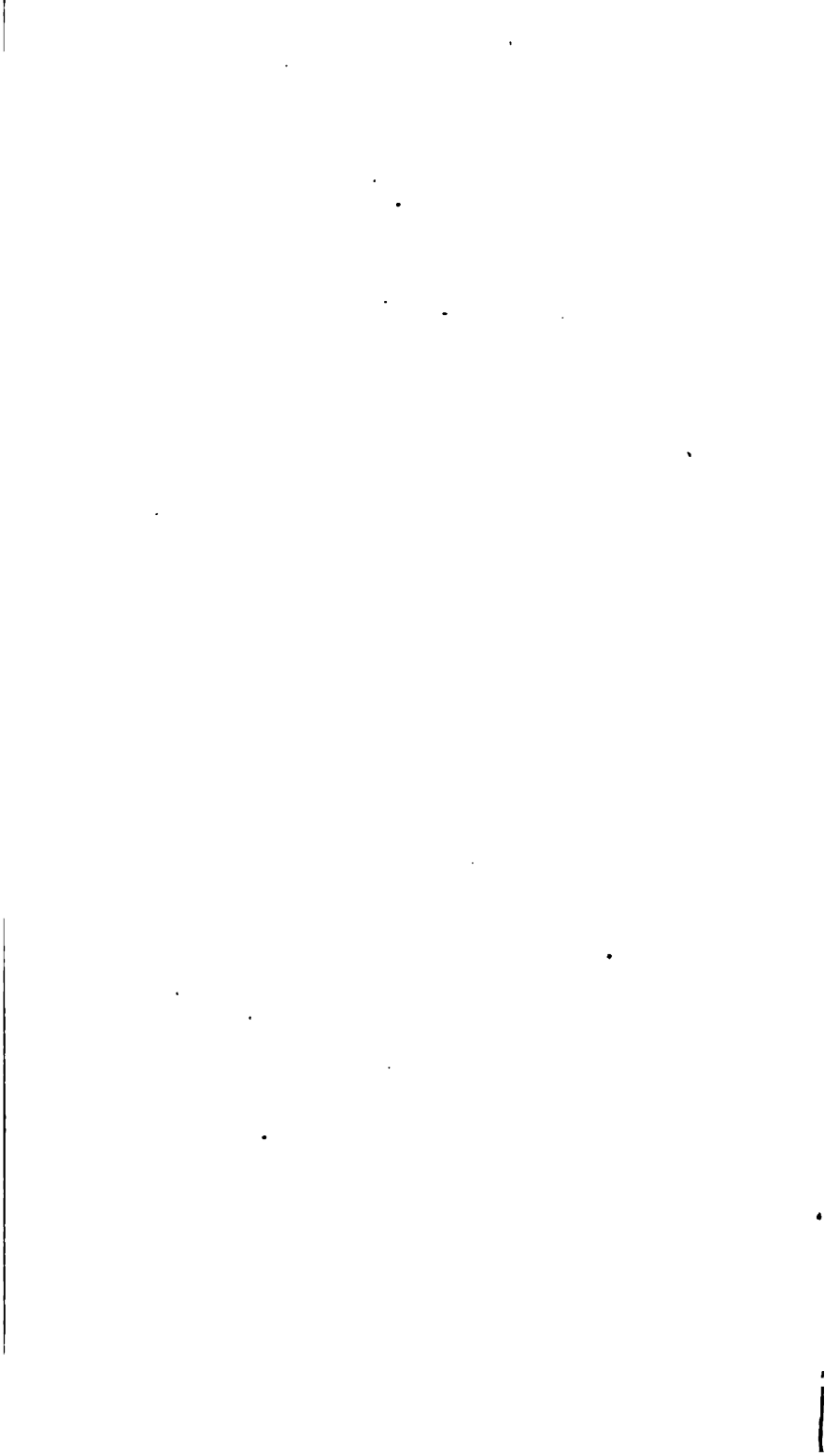


Sir Hungerford Hoskyns Bart.
Harcwood.









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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE LATE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,
John FROM *Phillips*
B.A.N.K.
ITS COMMENCEMENT,
TO THE PRESENT TIME,
INCLUDING THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN,
AND THE
EXECUTION OF THE DEPUTIES
OF THE
GIRONDE PARTY.

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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE LATE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

C H A P. I.

Reflections on the nature of the old government of France—The public burdens, and the consequent embarrassment of the finances, the sole cause of the revolution—State of France under Louis XIV—Unexampled profusion of Louis XV—Accession of Louis XVI—Recal of the parliaments, &c.—State of the finances—Appointment of M. Turgot—Revolt of the British colonies in America—Imprudent measures of the French government on that occasion—M. Necker's system of finance censured—M. Calonne—Opposition of the parliaments—Notables—Change of ministry—Banishment of the parliaments—Imprisonment of the duke d'Orleans and two other members—Projected plans of grand Bailiwicks and cour pleniere—Notables convoked a second time—Resignation of the archbishop of Sens—Recal of M. Necker—Resolution to convoke the states-general—Third convocation of notables—Proceedings in that assembly and in council previous to the meeting of the states-general.

BY a singular fatality, France, at once the most populous and the most enlightened nation on the continent of Europe, had remained under the yoke of despotic authority during the protracted period of more than a hundred and seventy years. It may indeed be doubted whether the servitude of the people might not be traced to a date still more remote, since the feudal institutions were little calculated to promote the welfare of the community at large, and since that pernicious latitude of authority,

which was latterly the exclusive inheritance of the monarch, had been previously in all probability only portioned out among an oppressive and rapacious nobility:

It would be a source of consolation to mankind, if we could lay it down as a maxim, that the extreme of tyranny is always productive of liberty; but the long depression of enslaved Rome, as well as more modern examples, forbid us to indulge the flattering speculation. It is however some discouragement to despotism, that, in certain circumstances, a revolution is commonly the consequence of great oppression; and that it is difficult, if not impossible, for a monarch to guard, by any artificial arrangements, the sanctuaries of arbitrary power.

History ancient or modern affords no instance of a country, in which despotism was reduced to so complete a system as in France. The king levied taxes, by his sole authority, to a greater annual amount than are raised by the whole of those immense territories which compose the Germanic body. The people were studiously depressed by poverty, ignorance, and extortion. They had no rights, or were carefully instructed never to claim them. Every private citizen was liable to be forced by the officers of government from his starving family to work in some corvée of public concern, or of absurd magnificence—He was taxed to more than half the amount of his income; and among these one of the most oppressive was the gabelle or salt tax, by which he was forced to pay at an exorbitant rate for that necessary commodity, while he was neither allowed to purchase when he pleased, nor to ascertain the quantity, but both were left to the farmers of the revenue.

Tyranny exercised upon the property of a nation must ever be accompanied with tyranny against their persons. The king and his ministers possessed an unlimited power of imprisonment—Under the pretence of preserving the public tranquillity against traitors and insurgents, the detestable

detestable invention of letters de cachet was contrived ; and this practice was carried to such a dreadful excess, that they were notoriously sold by the mistresses and favourites of the monarch, and even by their subordinate agents ; by which any person of the higher classes, for a pecuniary consideration, might gratify, to the full extent, his envy, his caprice, or his revenge.

The chain of despotism descended — the privileged orders as they were called, the nobility and clergy, participated in the rapine and injustice of the court. The nobility were bribed to the support of this immense fabric of corruption and misery, by a complete exemption from all public contributions ; and their passions were gratified with the liberty of procuring letters de cachet, upon most occasions, against those who offended or displeased them. The clergy are said to have been invested with nearly a fifth of the neat produce of the whole kingdom, exclusive of estates of immense value.

The administration of justice was well calculated to assimilate with the rest of the system. The criminal trials were generally secret and the state trials always so — But the most complete absurdity was, that men were not elevated to the bench of justice for their talents or their integrity, but the seats of those venerable tribunals were notoriously sold to the highest bidder ; and it is affirmed that the decisions of the court was scarcely less venal.

Gross and audacious as were these abuses, the authority by which they were supported was too well guarded to be easily overturned. A numerous mercenary army was always at the disposal of the king and his favourites ; a system of police, at once the most perfect and the most arbitrary that ever was devised, pervaded every part of the kingdom ; and a host of spies and informers, dispersed throughout the nation, rendered more effectual service to the cause of despotism than even the janizaries of the monarch.

That so stupendous an edifice of tyranny should ever be brought to destruction, is the circumstance which ought chiefly to excite our surprise. It was formed for duration, and must have been permanent, had not the ambition of successive monarchs counteracted the arrangement of the corrupt, but ingenious authors of the system. The passion for war, and the practice of funding (which sooner or later must effect a violent change in all the governments in Europe) brought that of France to a premature destruction. Speculative men attribute too much to the diffusion of knowledge, when they ascribe to this cause the French Revolution. The diffusion of knowledge may teach men to feel their wrongs, but it is painful sense of oppression that will stimulate to resent them. The people in all countries are timid, patient, submissive; the slaves of habit, of interest, and of prejudice; and will endure much rather than risk any thing.

The prodigality of Louis the XIV. was united with a magnificence which dazzled Europe with its splendor, and gratified that national vanity which has been considered for ages as the characteristic of the French. He was succeeded by a prince who united in him the opposite vices of avarice and prodigality. While immense sums were expended on the fruitless wars of the court, and scarcely less on that system of intrigue by which the cabinet of France affected to direct the affairs of Europe; while the public treasure was lavished upon prostitutes and panders*; the king had a private treasury of his own in which he gratified his avarice with contemplating an accumulation of property, extorted by the most unjust means from the wretched peasantry of France.

Nature had formed the heart of Louis XVI. of the best materials, and from his first accession to power he appeared to make the happiness of his people, if not the

* The pomp of the court of Louis XIV." says M. Rabaut, "was parsimony when compared with that of Louis XV.

principal,

principal, at least one of the greatest objects of his government: and had the state of the finances not been irretrievably bad, the reforms in administration which he effected would have immortalized his name. By disposition or by habit averse to pomp and parade, he could part without reluctance with every thing which had no farther object than to satisfy those puerile passions. Yet the character of Louis has been greatly mistaken, and one feature has been constantly overlooked. He was tenacious of power, and never parted with it but with extreme reluctance. This remark will meet with frequent confirmation in the course of this history, and indeed the misfortune of his concluding years appear to have been greatly aggravated, if not in a great measure created, by the circumstance.

The disgraceful system which had darkened the annals of France during the latter years of his grandfather's reign, though it might be supported under an aged monarch, to whom habit had reconciled his subjects, and whose declining years afforded a hope of a speedy change, could not be endured under a young king; and Louis had the sense to see that a change of measures was necessary, and the spirit to enter upon such a change. The duke d'Aiguillon, and all the faction of counts du Barré, were silently removed; and the young king immediately recalled the count de Maurepas, the friend and confident of his father, whom the vicious policy of the late reign had banished from the court. This ancient statesman declined to accept of any ostensible office, but contented himself with a seat in the privy council, while the affairs of France were administered under his direction. The ostensible ministers were Mr. Miromesnil, who was appointed keeper of the seals; the count de Vergennes, who presided over the foreign department, and the count de Mury over that of war.

The recal and re-establishment of the parliaments, whom the fears or the resentment of the late government had banished, was rather a sacrifice to popularity than a spontaneous measure of the king; but the goodness of his heart was evidenced by his abolishing the horrid engine of tyranny, the question of torture, by the edict which commuted the punishment of deserters from death to slavery; and by the abolition of most of the oppressive feudal privileges within his own dominions.

A still bolder and more hazardous innovation was the disbanding of the mousquetaires, a corps selected from the most illustrious families for the guard of the royal person, but the insolence and expence of which were ill compensated by the appearance of superior dignity.— This measure is commonly attributed to the advice of the count de St. Germain, and might be the dictate either of expedience or of policy. It, however, indicated the spirit of reform by which the government was actuated, and which, commencing with the court, was afterwards to be carried to an enthusiastical excess by the nation.

The disorders in which three fatal wars had involved the finances of the nation, and which the unexampled prodigality of his predecessor had increased, was, however, an evil not easily to be repaired. Nor was a rigid economy the characteristic of the court even of Louis XVI. However little disposed to habits of profusion the king might be in his own person, the expensive pleasures of the queen, and the uncommon splendour of the court, served rather to promote than diminish the general distress. "Under thirty successive ministers," says Rabaut, "the court ever craving and ever poor, had invented new resources. To imagine a new tax was considered as a stroke of genius, and the art of disguising it shewed the adroitness of the financier. We had already imported from Italy, under the auspices of our re-
gents

gents of the house of Medicis, the celebrated resource of farming out the taxes, the science of which consists in giving as little as you can to the state, in order to levy as much as you can upon the people. The sale of offices and commissions was likewise a tax levied upon pride and upon folly: their number increased every day. It is necessary to acquaint foreigners that, among us, was sold the exclusive right of exercising such or such professions, and that this might become a title. Patents were made out for carrying on the trade of a peruke-maker, of a coal-meter, of a leacher of hogs' tongues; and these callings became exclusive; they were termed privileges. The rich purchased them as a speculation, and sold them to advantage. A certain financier had in his port-folio thirty patents for peruke-makers, which were bought of him at a high price by persons dwelling in the remotest provinces. Besides that this low kind of speculation changed the character of the people, where every thing, even honour, was become venal, these new-created offices were all so many indirect taxes; for the purchaser never failed to make the public reimburse him. It was injurious to industry, since, in order to exercise a profession, it was not necessary to have talents for it, but to be either rich already, or to borrow in order to become rich. In fine, it was an additional burden to the state, which paid the salary or the interest of every office that was sold. The number of them was enormous. A person who was employed to count them, and who grew weary of the task, ventured to estimate them at three hundred thousand. Another calculated, that in the space of two centuries the people had been burdened with more than a hundred millions of new taxes, solely for the purpose of paying the interest of those offices."

In the appointment of M. Turgot to the department of finance, the king evinced his discernment or docility. The commercial arrangement of the kingdom received the

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the most valuable improvements under the guidance of this upright and able statesman; but his integrity was too inflexible, and his projects too expensive, not to excite the ever wakeful jealousy of the farmers general; and an accidental or artificial famine was made the instrument for depriving him of the public confidence. On his resignation he was succeeded by a M. Clugny, on whose death M. Taboreau des Reaux was appointed to the vacant post, and in a short time after, the king, whose attention appears to have been particularly directed to this object, associated with him M. Neckar, by birth a Swiss, and the first protestant, who, from the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, had ever been elevated to an official situation of any consequence in France. M. Neckar had rendered himself conspicuous by several commercial plans, which he had successfully recommended to the mercantile part of the nation, and particularly by the adjustment of some differences which had taken place between the India company and the crown.

In the mean time a circumstance occurred, which, to a country burdened with debts and taxes, could only be productive of total ruin. The year 1774 will be memorable for the unfortunate war which the weakness and wickedness of a depraved and incapable ministry wantonly kindled between Great Britain and her North American Colonies—a war excited for the enforcing a tax which would not have paid for collecting it; and levied under the absurd and fantastical plea, that the colonies were virtually represented in the British parliament, as by the ancient grants and charters they were constituted a portion of the manor of East Greenwich in Kent! If any thing could exceed the folly of the English ministry in commencing the war, it was that of France in engaging in it—Such, however, were the infatuated politics of both nations!

The old and detestable prejudice which taught the
uninformed

uninformed part of the people to regard a neighbouring nation as their *natural* enemies, was not less prevalent in France than in England; and the notion of distressing a rival while embarrassed with a domestic dispute, might in such circumstances be easily made popular. The old statesmen of France, accustomed to that meddling and intriguing scheme of politics which is ever desirous to interfere in the internal concerns of other nations, could not overlook the opportunity which the American war afforded. The queen, educated from infancy in an hereditary hatred to the English nation, and flattered by the glory which the French might achieve in the contest, soon embraced the American cause. The enlightened part of the nation were actuated by a more generous enthusiasm. Among all who read, and all who reflected in France, the cause of America appeared the cause of Liberty; and the efforts of some of the most illustrious individuals anticipated the arrangements of the court. The marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman nearly allied to the illustrious house of Noailles, of a large property, and not less remarkable for his accomplishments than his rank, fitted out, in an early stage of the dispute, a vessel at his own expence, and embarked for America, where he afterwards obtained a high station and considerable eminence and reputation in the continental army.

The court had no sooner taken a decided part in the American dispute, than that continent was considered as the theatre of glory; and the young nobility of France were emulous to distinguish themselves in the contest. There they imbibed principles which could only be fatal to a despotic government, while the progress of the war irrecoverably deranged the finances of the country.— France indeed humbled her rival, but she ruined herself; and her imprudence will ever remain a warning to nations against incautiously rushing into unnecessary wars, and against that destructive system of politics, which involves
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the fate of kingdoms in concerns which are unconnected with their internal peace and prosperity.

Great as were M. Neckar's abilities, and unimpeachable as was his integrity, it may be doubted whether his mode of raising the supplies for the war was the most prudent or advantageous. According to his plan, one loan was made to pay the interest of another, and no new taxes were levied upon the people. The popularity of such a measure might, in M. Neckar's mind, counterbalance its improvidence; and indeed subsequent events may induce us to suspect, that, levied as the taxes then were in France, the privileged orders being wholly exempted, the people could scarcely bear any additional burdens. M. Neckar endeavoured to find resources in a most rigid economy, and in several salutary reforms in household and in the different official departments: but his severity in this respect raised against him a formidable party in the court; and several of his proposed reforms being represented as inconsistent with the royal dignity, he was dismissed from his office towards the close of the year 1781.

The return of peace the succeeding year, though it relieved the nation from the apprehensions of future embarrassments, did not extricate difficulties. After M. Neckar, a series of empirics administered the finances, but with no salutary effect; and in the year 1783, the failure of the *caisse d'escompte* (or bank of discount) involved the commercial world equally with the court in perplexity and apprehension. This bank was established in 1776, under the auspices of M. Turgot, by a company of private adventurers. Its capital was 500,000*l.* sterling, and its object was to discount commercial bills of short dates, at four per cent. The company were also empowered to issue notes to the amount of their capital, which circulated among the mercantile people like the notes of the bank of England. As the stock had risen
above

above par, the surprise and consternation of the public were greatly excited by its sudden stoppage. The scarcity of specie was the cause assigned for this singular event, but the true cause of the failure was the immense loans which it had issued to government. Several expedients were tried by the ministry to relieve the embarrassments of the bank, and by the strong exertion of government it was enabled to maintain a tottering credit.

It was chiefly owing to the exertions of M. Calonne that the *caisse d'escompte* was enabled to support itself. This gentleman was the third who had succeeded to the office of comptroller of the finances from the dismissal of M. Neckar. He was confessedly a man of ability, and had filled successively the office of intendant of Metz, and of the provinces of Flanders and Artois. "The public however," says an elegant French writer, "saw with disgust and apprehension the wealth of the nation fall into the hands of a man who had delapidated his own patrimony; a man who, inconsiderate in his character and immoral upon system, had dishonoured his talents by his vices, and his dignities by the baseness of his conduct; who, while he exercised the office of procureur-general of the parliament of Douay, had degraded himself so far as to act as a spy to the minister with respect to the procureur-general of the parliament of Britany, and had the insolence to sit as judge of that respectable magistrate, whom he had had calumniated; who, grown grey in the intrigues and gallantry of the court, loaded with a weight of ignominy and of debt, came with a stock of needy sycophants to seize upon the treasure of the nation, and to devour its revenues under the pretence of administering them."

The first part of the career of M. Calonne was, notwithstanding brilliant; but it was only a brilliant deception. After restoring the credit of the *caisse d'escompte* one of his first measures was to establish a *caisse d'amortissement*,

tissement; or sinking fund, which by a kind of ministerial juggler was in a certain course of years to discharge the whole national debt. While fresh loans were negotiated every year, the public was deluded by inflated panegyrics on this heaven-born minister; and it was reported by his agents, that he had discovered the miraculous secret of discharging the debts and burthens of the nation by —borrowing.

While such were the plans and the promises of the minister, the court was never known to brilliant and so expensive. The immense debts of the princes of the blood were liquidated, pensions were granted with a profuse hand, and every petty service munificently requited. Rambouillet was purchased for the king; St. Cloud for the queen: all was magnificence and splendour. A French writer compares the delusion of the nation to a delightful vision or rather an enchantment: "We slept," says he, "in the gardens of Armids; but the awaking was as terrible as the dream had been flattering."

It was impossible indeed that so miserable a deception could long escape the penetration of a nation so quick-sighted as the French. When the edict for registering the loans of 1785 was presented to the parliament of Paris, that assembly was alarmed to find that it amounted to the enormous sum of 3,330,000 sterling, and the murmurs of the parliament were seconded by those of the people. The king however insisted peremptorily upon their compliance with his mandate; but when they registered the edict, it was accompanied with a resolution importing, "That public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and of restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin."

The king forcibly erased the resolution from the records of the parliament; but the eyes of the public were
now

now open, and a fresh deception was necessary to enable M. Calonne to retain his office, and protract the dreadful day of reckoning to a future period. The sanction of the parliaments the minister foresaw was not easy to be obtained; and even if he could accomplish this point, it was dubious whether that would be sufficient to remove every scruple from the public mind. An assembly more dignified and solemn in its character, and which should consist of a greater number of members from the different states of the realm, was necessary to give force and efficacy to his proceedings. But the states-general had never met since the year 1614; and from a popular assembly could M. Calonne hope for approbation?

Another assembly had occasionally been substituted instead of the states-general; and as it consisted of a number of persons of consequence, selected from the different orders and from different parts of the country by the king himself, it has been dignified by the appellation of the assembly of *notables*. They had been convened by Henry IV. and again by Louis XIII. and the minister very justly concluded that such a body was better adapted to his purpose than the states-general.

The proclamation for assembling the notables was issued on the 19th of December 1786, and the writs were directed to seven princes of the blood; nine dukes and peers of France; eight field marshals; twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state; four masters of requests; eleven archbishops and bishops; thirty-seven heads of the law; twelve deputies of the pays d'etat; the lieutenant civil; and twenty five magistrates of different towns; in all one hundred and forty-four.

The meeting was at first fixed for the 30th of January 1787: but as the minister was not prepared, it was deferred to the 7th of February, and afterwards to a more distant period by the indisposition of M. Calonne himself and that of the count de Vergennes, first secretary of state,

state, who died on the very day appointed for their meeting after these various procrastinations. M. de Vergennes was succeeded by the count de Montmorin, a nobleman of the first character, and who was less favourably disposed to the views of the comptroller general than his predecessor.

It has been shrewdly remarked; that M. Calonne convoked the notables not to discuss but to admire his plans; and in the measure which he adopted to secure their approbation we must applaud his ingenuity, if we cannot compliment him on his political integrity. The notables were divided into seven different bureaux, or sections, over each of which a prince of the blood presided. By the majority of the sections every question was to be decided: and thus the minister contrived that forty-four suffrages should constitute a majority of the whole; and we may reasonably conclude that he had disposed of his creatures in such a manner that more than this number was entirely at his command.

All his precautions however were in vain. The notables met on the 26th of February—it was impossible to conceal the monstrous deficit of 110 millions of livres. The minister attempted to throw the blame upon his predecessors; but M. Neckar had previously published his *Compte Rendu*, or general state of the finances on his dismissal from office; and this at least served to establish one fact, that the public affairs had not been improved in the hands of M. Calonne. In the archbishop of Toulouse the minister found a formidable opponent, and one still more dangerous in the count de Mirabeau, who had formerly been in habits of intimacy with the comptroller general. As M. Calonne saw no remedy for the derangement of the finances but the equalization of the taxes, his new plan excited at once the jealousy of the privileged orders. In the mean time the honest indignation of M. Miromesnil the keeper of the seals, and the more subtle vengeance

vengeance of his rival the baron de Breteuil, who was the favourite minister of the queen, were actively employed for his removal; and the storm of public resentment increasing in violence, he was at length obliged to resign a situation which by his duplicity he had disgraced. Before his removal, he had the address to procure from the king the dismissal of the keeper of the seals, and to recommend his friend M. Lamoignon to the vacant office. The baron de Breteuil he attempted to remove, but in vain—since the party that supported him was too powerful to be successfully opposed. The assembly of the notables was soon after dissolved.

The opposition of the archbishop of Toulouse to the plans of M. Calonne in the assembly of notables, was rewarded with the office which the latter had just vacated. But such was the hopeless state of France, that the new comptroller-general was scarcely appointed, before he was engaged in similar difficulties with his predecessors. The king, disappointed in all the hopes with which he had flattered himself from the agency of the notables, had recourse to the ancient mode of raising supplies by royal edict; and the new taxes to be levied were a double poll-tax, a third twentieth, and a stamp-duty. The whole of these were strenuously opposed by the parliament of Paris, on the strong ground that they were more than the people could bear; and the king was obliged to enforce the registering of the edicts by the exercise of his absolute authority, and by holding what was called, under the ancient regimen, a bed of justice. Previous to this ceremony, however, the parliament made a spirited remonstrance against the edicts; and on the following day a formal protest was entered against the forcible violation of their records.

The parliament for this offence was banished to Troyes, but purchased its recall by consenting to register the edict for the additional twentieth. Towards the close of the year, however, this ill-concerted harmony was again broken.

ken. The urgent necessities of the state required extraordinary resources. On the 7th of November, 1787, in a very full meeting of the parliament, the king entered the assembly, and proposed a new edict for their approbation, authorising a loan of four hundred and fifty millions of livres, or near nineteen millions sterling; and this was accompanied with one of a more popular nature, viz: an edict for the re-establishment of the protestants in all their civil rights.

A long and interesting debate ensued upon these proposals; but the king, wearied with a contest of nearly nine hours, and possibly chagrined at the freedom of some of the principal speakers, rose at length and commanded the edicts to be registered without further opposition. To the astonishment of the king and the whole court party, this order was opposed by the duke d'Orleans, the first prince of the blood; who considering the whole proceeding as an infringement on the rights of the parliament, protested against it, and his protest was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the assembly.

The succeeding day the duke d'Orleans received an order from court to confine himself to one of his seats fifteen leagues from Paris, where he was to receive no company except his own family; and M. M. Freteau and Sabatier, who had distinguished themselves in the debate, were seized under the authority of lettres de cachet, and conveyed to different prisons.

After much altercation between the parliament and the ministry, the king once more inclined to pacific measures, and the exiled members were set at liberty. But as the ministry were now fully convinced of the impracticability of the parliaments, they determined to aim a decisive blow at their very existence. For this purpose two great projects were at once devised; the first was the establishment of a number of grand bailiwicks throughout the

the kingdom, which were calculated to diminish the jurisdiction, the credit and the profits of the parliaments; and the other was the creation of a *cour pleniere*, for the enregistering of the royal edicts, which must virtually destroy all their consequence in the state.

The *cour pleniere* was to be composed of princes of the blood, peers of France, magistrates, and military officers, to be nominated by the king. The project for its institution was kept a profound secret; the edict respecting it, as well as that of the grand bailiwicks, was to be presented to the different parliaments on the same day, in the beginning of May 1788; and for this purpose, they were printed in the most private manner at Versailles.

The diligence and activity of M. d'Espremenil, a young and enterprising member of the parliament of Paris, detected the plot. He even procured copies of the edicts, and communicated them to his colleagues; and he and another spirited member, M. Monsiambert, excited them by the most pointed and energetic eloquence to a vigorous resistance. The king was now convinced that the moment was arrived when it was become necessary to employ force in support of his despotic authority. A body of troops surrounded the hall of justice, and the two obnoxious magistrates, M. d'Espremenil and Monsiambert, were carried off to the state prison of the Isle de St. Marguerite,* in the presence and amidst the murmurs of an indignant people.

The parliament remonstrated with redoubled confidence; and the voice of the people seconded their complaints. The king again found it necessary to convene the notables, and appeared in person in that assembly in the beginning of May. The object was to propose for their approbation the establishment of the *cour pleniere*; but the notables received the proposal with cold and

* So celebrated for being the first prison of that unfortunate victim of tyranny, "the man with the iron mask."

silent respect; while the parliament protested with renewed vigour, and with unequivocal tokens of rooted aversion. The general discontent reached even the peers of France; and the minister (now raised from the see of Toulouse to the lucrative archbishopric of Sens) began to look round him with apprehension and despondency, and seriously to meditate a retreat from office.

It is to the credit of the archbishop that he advised the king to recal M. Neckar, as the only remedy for the public discontent; he and M. Lamoignon soon after resigned their respective situations; and the latter terminated his chagrin by putting an end to his existence.

A tumult of rejoicing, conducted with little decency on the part of the populace, and terminated with blood by the interference of the military, served to evince the sentiments of the populace on the dismissal of the ministers. But the acclamations with which M. Neckar was received, could not eradicate from his mind the difficulties which he had to encounter. It was evident that all the former administrations had sunk under the weight of the public distress; and that some mode was to be devised which might give proper energy and effect to the extraordinary means which must be employed for its alleviation. The public sentiment, which a previous recommendation of the parliament of Paris had excited, pointed out to M. Neckar the only measure which he could safely employ. The voice of the people had long demanded the assembling of the states-general. In this, upon different motives, all parties were agreed; and the court and the minister were obliged to give way, since no other means appeared of satisfying the creditors of the nation.

In the convoking of the states, however, a variety of opposite interests presented themselves to embarrass and distress the minister. On the one hand, it was obvious that the public affairs could only be regenerated by des-

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troying, if not in the whole, at least in a considerable degree, the unreasonable immunities of the privileged orders. The equalization of the taxes was the only measure by which the nation could be made to endure the burden of the national debt; and on the other, should the scale preponderate in favor of the people, those excesses to which popular councils are always exposed were to be apprehended and feared. On the great question therefore, respecting the number of the deputies to be sent by the different orders to the meeting of the states-general, the opinions of individuals were divided according to the interest of the parties which they respectively espoused; and the ministry themselves were far from decided. The general principles of equity seemed to dictate, that as the *tiers etat*, or commons, so infinitely exceeded in number the whole body of the two other orders, the nobility and clergy, the number of their deputies should bear some proportion to the numbers whom they represented. On the contrary, it might easily be foreseen that such an arrangement virtually involved the ruin of the privileged orders, and perhaps the overthrow of monarchy itself.— On so momentous a question the minister did not presume to decide, and it was agreed once more to convoke the assembly of the notables—though it was scarcely probable that an assembly consisting entirely of privileged persons, should decide peremptorily against the privileged orders.

The proclamation convoking the notables was dated on the fifth of October, 1788, and the assembly met on the sixth of the following month. The motives assigned by the proclamation were, that the king could have desired to have adopted the model of the last assembly of the states-general, but that in various articles it could with difficulty be reconciled to the present situation of affairs, and that in order it had excited a dissatisfaction, the grounds of which deserved to be investigated; that the elections of the tiers etat had been confined to the towns

called *bonnes villes*, to the exclusion of many others which had since grown considerable; that the inhabitants of the open country had in most cases sent no deputies; that the representatives of the towns were generally chosen by the corporations, whose officers at present came in by purchase; that almost all the representatives of the *tiers etat* had been nobles; that the elections had been made by *baillages*, every one of which had sent nearly the same number of deputies, though they had then been unequal in population and extent, and were now much more so; that the *states-general* had divided themselves into twelve sections, called governments, by a majority of which every question was decided; but these governments were unequal, as well as the *baillages*, a majority of which constituted the vote of the government; lastly, that a great portion of the time of the last *states-general* had been consumed in frivolous contests respecting their formation. Moved by these considerations the king had thought that the discussion of them ought not to be confined to his privy council; and he had called together the same notables that had met in 1787, and whose nomination had been made for other purposes, that he might give the striking proof of his impartiality.

The month of November was memorably distinguished in almost every part of the kingdom by popular meetings for the purpose of supporting the cause of the *tiers etat*, and addresses were presented from the various towns and districts of Normandy, Guienne, Orleannois, and Lorraine, demanding the establishment of particular states to regulate the affairs of these provinces, and a double representation in the *states-general*. In Guienne the remonstrances were enforced by a considerable party from the other two orders. In Languedoc the institution of provincial states already existed, and the representation of the commons was equal to the sum of the other two; but the representatives had by long established practice derived

derived their situation from the appointment of the crown, and not from the election of the people. Of consequence the inhabitants at large were unwilling that they should either engross or obtain an eminent share in the farther prerogative of deputing to the states-general.

Brittany as well as Languedoc enjoyed the privilege of being regulated by its provincial states; but in this assembly the chief power was possessed by the nobility, and the commons had little influence. — Brittany therefore, distinguished by her numerous and haughty nobility, and by the tumultuous spirit of her inhabitants, was a principal centre of rivalry and discontent. The various districts associated for the purpose of obtaining a melioration of their constitution; and upon the first appearance of this spirit, it was farther exasperated by the intemperate proceedings of the aristocracy. They early published a resolution by which they pretended to establish the following as incontestible maxims:—that it was the essence of the states-general to be composed of three distinct orders, voting separately, and each possessing the same influence as either of the others; that the interests of each order were constitutionally secured by its negative on the determination of the other two; that the nation itself consisting of the three orders, ought never to destroy this parity of influence, every innovation upon which opened a door of tyranny, and could tend only to perpetuate anarchy and confusion; that the difference of population in the several bailiages was a trifling inconvenience, which the example of a neighbouring nation evinced to be scarcely worthy the attention of a free people; that the forms adopted in 1614 could be changed only by the authority of the states-general, an authority which the notables could not usurp without exposing themselves to

general condemnation, and even bringing into question the legality of the future national assembly; lastly, that that minister, who should seek to sow dissension among the different orders of the state, could be regarded in no other light than as an enemy to the country.—Acting upon these intolerent principles, the noblesse applied to the military commander in Brittany to put an end to the associations of the tiers etat; and some time after, the parliament of Rennes, having published a resolution prohibiting the municipal assemblies, also called upon the military to put their resolution in immediate execution.—Government did not think proper to comply with these requisitions.

While the principles of liberty victoriously diffused themselves through every part of the kingdom, the people of Dauphine, who had hitherto been most forward in the cause, were not idle. In the midst of various pretensions advanced by different bodies in the nation, the chambers of commerce in several cities, and particularly in Paris, impressed with that monopolising spirit which has hitherto been almost uniformly the offspring of mercantile habits, demanded the liberty of sending particular representatives for the protection of their trade. Like the rest of their countrymen, their admiration was excited by the patriotism of the Dauphinois, and they determined to consult the traders of Grenoble, upon the justice of their claims. The answer they received was unfavourable to their views. “There is nothing,” replied their correspondents, “that can give innovation, but the interest of the whole. The innovation you demand, the conceding to commerce particular representatives, would be an injury to the whole.

Other

Other professions would not fail to solicit the same indulgence. The husbandmen and the artisans, if it were to be the prize of utility, would have an incontrovertible claim. The states-general would be an assembly from the different corporations of the kingdom: rivalry and contention would reign triumphant. The good of the whole would be forgotten; all would be intrigue, anarchy, and mistrust; and France would be irretrievably ruined."

The states of Dauphine were assembled in due form in the beginning of December, and on the ninth of that month they concluded their deliberations upon the representation in the states-general. They earnestly recommended the union of provinces and orders, and the deliberating upon all public affairs in a single house. If the orders were separated, each would endeavour to maintain those abuses which were thought favourable to it, and the emergencies of the state would be neglected; that patriotic enthusiasm, which dictated the most generous sacrifices could not exist but amongst citizens occupied with the general good, and not with their particular interests. The notables would disappoint all the fairest hopes of the nation, if they proposed the separation of orders; and in that case they trusted the king would not hesitate to prefer the sentiments of the nation to the advice of that assembly. They added, that all men had a right to an equal participation of felicity; that it was not the provinces that ought to be represented, but their inhabitants; that, whatever might be their comparative riches or extent, the first thing it became men to consider was men; that, of consequence population was the only measure by which representation ought to be apportioned: that, if one deputy

deputy were allowed to every twenty thousand persons, Dauphine ought to send thirty-three, or rather thirty; and this was the quantity of representation they demanded. In adopting this measure they observed that they neglected their particular interests since, when the states-general had voted by governments, Dauphine had counted for a twelfth of the whole; but they hoped to be more truly happy, too, that the other provinces would recognize the purity of their motives, and that there would be no rivalry but in contending who should contribute most to restore to the nation and the throne, that rank, glory, and power, they were entitled to enjoy.

It was in the midst of this effervescence of the commons of France, that the notables held their sittings; and it is not to be doubted that the action of each mutually produced some effect upon the other. The assembly was opened as usual by a speech from the king, the keeper of the seals, and the director-general of the finances. It was observed by M. Neckar, that the king was not ignorant of the respect that ought to be entertained for the ancient usages of a monarchy; it was under their protection that every constitutional right acquired a new degree of force; they secured the public tranquillity by opposing a barrier to the inconsiderate ardour of innovation. But the king was equally penetrated with those first principles of justice, that had neither epoch nor commencement, nor could have a conclusion; principles that obliged him to acquire, through the medium of a just representation, a knowledge of the sentiments of his subjects. Circumstances had greatly changed since the meeting of the late states-general: and, while the king would

would always particularly distinguish the two first orders of the nation, he could not refuse his esteem to commerce and the arts, or deny an eminent share of his regard to the peaceable labours of agriculture. There were four considerations which it was particularly proper to recommend to the attention of the notables; the composition of the states-general, the forms of convoking them, the regulations that were to be prescribed in the conduct of the elections, and the instructions which the deputies were to receive from their electors. The first and third of these articles seem to be principally interesting. Under the first, M. Neckar recommended to the notables to consider the total number of the deputies, and the proportion to be assigned to each order. Under the third, what was to be admitted as the legal qualification of the elector and the elected; whether the tiers etat should be authorized to select a representative from the superior orders; whether the orders in each district should proceed to the choice of their representatives separately or united; whether the elections should be conducted by poll or by ballot; and what principle should be employed in determining the number of representatives each district should be permitted to choose. These questions were afterwards modified by the notables. They did not directly admit into their list that of the total number of deputies; and they inserted the great and interesting problem, whether the future sittings of the national assembly should be in one body or in separate houses.

It was customary upon occasions similar to this, for the heads of the different corps, the clergy, the noblesse, and the parliaments, to address the sovereign in complimentary harangues. Accordingly, M. d'Ormesson, who, upon the resignation of M. d'Aligre,

d'Aligre, had succeeded in due course of seniority to the dignity of first president of the parliament of Paris, embraced this occasion of reminding the king, that that body had been amongst the first to urge the convocation of the states-general — a measure so salutary, as to have been no sooner started, than it was reinforced by the unanimous sentiment of the nation; and he could not avoid at this time repeating, that the parliament had already solemnly pronounced the model of 1614 to be the only one that could consistently be adopted or that promised a salutary issue.

The king distributed the notables, as had been done in the beginning of 1787, into sections, with this difference only, that in the former instances they had been seven and in the present they were six. Of consequence each of them consisted of twenty-five persons, and their presidents were severally, Monsieur next brother to the king, the count d'Artois the younger brother, and the duke d'Orleans, the prince of Conde, the duke of Bourbon his eldest son, and the prince of Conti. Though the exertions of the duke d'Orleans and of the marquis de la Fayette produced no striking effects upon the present occasion, it seems proper to record that the former of these, finding the sentiments of his section little conformable to those he entertained, thought proper to absent himself from the notables, except upon certain interesting questions; and that the latter was a member of the section of the count d'Artois.

It was early visible that the notables were divided in their opinions, there being a small but respectable minority who embraced the cause of the people. The rest were highly aristocratical in their sentiments, and, beginning to be justly alarmed

ed for the downfall of their usurpation, and exerted themselves to the best of their power to resist the ruin by which they were about to be overtaken. The section of the count d'Artois and the duke of Bourbon earnestly recommended the model of 1614 and suggested a doubt, whether there was any power short of the states-general, deliberating by orders, that could superinduce upon it any material alteration. The sections of the duke d'Orleans and the prince's Conde and Conti pleaded the same cause though in a manner less peremptory. The section of Monsieur, in which a majority of the members had embraced the side of liberty, were fully persuaded of the propriety of the king's introducing whatever variation the welfare of the whole might seem to require.

The notables were nearly unanimous in the principles that ought to regulate the forms of Election. The great body of electors were to be distributed into communities, whose function it was to select a certain number of citizens to represent them in the secondary bailliage, the secondary bailliages to depute to the primary ones, and these last to fix upon the national representatives in the general assembly. This chain of deputation was applicable only to the tiers etat; the superior orders were authorised immediately to elect their representatives to the national senate. In those provinces that were in the habits of being regulated by their provincial states, the states were to elect their representatives at least in such of them as could prove that they were already in possession of that privilege.

In the section of Monsieur, the question of the proportional representation of the three orders was decided in favour of the doubling the tiers etat, by a majority of thirteen to twelve. In the section
d'Artois,

d'Artois, d'Orleans, and Conti, the same principle was maintained by a majority of eight, eight and six respectively. In the other two it was carried unanimously in favour of the aristocracy. The question of the deliberation in one or more houses was likewise variously decided. Three of the sections seemed to consider the deliberation by orders as an essential part of the constitution; those of d'Orleans and Bourbon required, that at least the first deliberation should be in the aristocratical form, the states-general afterwards to adopt whatever form they thought proper; and the section of Monsieur declared the question to be altogether out of their province to determine. Upon the question whether the three orders should deliberate separately or united, in the election of the deputies, the section of Monsieur pronounced entire liberty; and the other five prescribed a separate consultation, unless in any particular district it should appear that precedent decided in favour of the contrary.

From the composition of the states-general they proceeded to examine the rules of election. Under the head of qualifications the judgment of the sections of Monsieur, d'Artois, and Bourbon was considerably liberal. The general spirit of that judgment was the proscription of all qualification; because there were, as they said, but three orders in the state, and it would be absolutely subversive of that principle to introduce subdivisions; because every Frenchman ought to have some share in deputing representatives to the national assembly; and because the only measure of eligibility in the persons chosen ought to be the confidence of their constituents. The section d'Artois alone of three, introduced as a modification, that the electors of the tiers etat must be in actual possession of landed property

property. The remaining sections endeavoured to establish certain qualifications, though all of them rejected the idea of introducing either exclusion or proportion to the prejudice of the undignified clergy.

The article, in the decision of which the partisans of the commons had deeply interested themselves, whether the tiers etat should be authorized to elect deputies from either of the superior orders, was by the sections of Monsieur, Condé, and Bourbon determined, as their partisans desired, in the negative; and the section of Monsieur assigned this flattering reason, that it was unjust to suppose that the tiers etat could not in their own order discover candidates that were possessed of every suitable requisite. The decisions of the sections d'Artois and d'Orleans were directly the reverse of each other, the former limiting the tiers etat in the election of deputies to the bailliages, but pronouncing entire freedom in that to the states-general; and the latter admitting nobles to represent the tiers etat in the bailliages, but requiring that the representative of the commons should be himself a commoner in the last result. The section of Conti alone delivered a judgment consonant to the enlarged principles of liberty. Ought not indeed the partisans of the tiers etat to have recollected, that, if the people, when left to themselves, were blind enough to elect their enemies to watch over their safety, they would be able neither to understand nor maintain liberty, even if they were put in possession of it?

The more interesting question, whether the superior bailliages, some of which contained twelve thousand, and others six hundred thousand inhabitants, should elect the same number of deputies, was determined in the negative by the section of Monsieur,

fiour, and in the affirmative by the other five. The inquiry respecting the mode of election by poll or by ballot, was by four of the sections decided in favour of an open poll; by the sections d'Artois and d'Orleans a poll was prescribed in the primary assemblies; but it was affirmed to be of great moment, that the ultimate election of deputies to the states-general should be conducted by the mode of ballot. Finally, the five junior sections anxiously expressed their readiness to submit to an equal participation of the burden of contribution to the public revenue; the section of Monsieur, which in all the most interesting questions had declared in favour of the popular cause, disdained to have recourse to an ostentation of generosity, which after the proceedings they adopted, would have been altogether superfluous.

The proceedings of the notables were aristocratical, but moderate, and did not therefore satisfy the desires of those who began to be seriously alarmed for the impending revolution. The daring language of such as from the press or in the municipal assemblies pleaded the cause of the democracy, inspired them with horror.

The prince of Conti, in a general committee of the notables on the 28th of November, was the first to unfurl the standard of aristocratical jealousy. Upon this occasion he read and delivered a note to Monsieur, president of the committee, declaring that he owed it to his conscience, his birth, and the present crisis of public affairs; to enter his protest against the inundation that existed of scandalous publications, that spread through every part of the kingdom trouble and division. The monarchy was attacked! a blow was aimed at its existence! and the moment was at hand! It was impossible that the
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king should not at length open his eyes, and that his brothers should not call upon him to do so. It was necessary to the stability of the throne, of the laws and of order, that all new systems should be for ever proscribed, and that the constitution and the ancient forms should be preserved in their integrity. The note of the Prince of Conti was laid by Monsieur before the King, who returned it with an intimation, that the subject of it was totally foreign to those for the discussion of which the notables had been assembled; that he therefore forbade the sections to take it into their consideration; and that the princes of the blood ought to address themselves directly to him, when they had any thing to communicate which they conceived would be useful to him.

The notables were dissolved on the 12th of December, and two days after that event a memorial was presented to the king by the princes of the blood who had sat in that assembly, with the exception of Monsieur and the Duke d'Orleans, enforcing the representation of the prince of Conti. They affirmed, that the state was in instant danger; that a revolution was gradually taking place in the principles of government; and that the present fermentation of men's minds furnished the means by which it was to be effected. Institutions, hitherto reputed sacred, and by which the monarchy had flourished for ages, were now disputed as problematical, or decried as unjust. The publications that had appeared during the sitting of the notables, the memorials that had been formed by different provinces, cities and corps, their object and their style, announced a regular system of insubordination, and a determined contempt for the laws of the state. Every author erected himself into a legislator. Eloquence and an art of writing, without information, without study and without experience, were thought qualifications sufficient for men to regulate the fate of empires. Whoever advanced a daring propo-

sition, whoever proposed innovation, was certain to have readers and followers. Such was the tremendous progress of this effervescence, that opinions, which a short time since would have been deemed the most reprehensible, now appeared reasonable and just; and those, at which men of honour now started, would perhaps some time hence be regarded as perfectly legitimate and regular. Who could set bounds to the temerity of opinion? The rights of the throne had already been disputed; the rights of the two orders were now called in question; it had even been proposed to suppress the feudal lordships, as a system of oppression, and a remnant of barbarism; shortly the rights of property would be invaded, and the unequal distribution of wealth be considered as a matter deserving of reform. The princes added, that the claim of a double representation of the tiers etat was the offspring of these systems of innovation, and ought to be perseveringly resisted. To grant it would be to encourage a spirit of encroachment; and its advocates animated by their first success, would not content themselves with a concession, which, unless connected with something that was to follow, would prove altogether nominal and nugatory. A meeting of the dukes and peers of France, similar to that of the princes, was held on the 20th; but they contented themselves with publishing a resolution, by which they expressed their readiness to pay their full proportion to the national revenue, without demanding any pecuniary exemption.

The parliament of Paris appears to have exerted a foresight of a very different character from that of the princes of the blood, and to have modelled its proceedings accordingly. Those of the princes were full of ardour and adventure; those of the parliament were infected with timidity. The former seemed prepared to sacrifice every thing to the unlimited assertion of the prerogatives to which they were born; the latter, if they were unable to pre-
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serve the whole, were willing to make as good a bargain as they could. The younger members that guided their deliberations, had tasted of the intoxicating draught of popular applause. M. d'Espremeniil and others had been received with shouts at the re-assembling of their corps after the period of their vacation: and they could not persuade themselves lightly to part with the public favour which had been so particularly grateful to them.

The vacation of the parliament expired on the 12th of November; but it was not usual for that body to enter immediately upon the transaction of business, and accordingly it was not till the 5th of December that they adopted the resolution, by which they endeavoured to qualify their intolérant language of the preceding months. In this resolution they expressed their alarms for the consequences of the present ferment, and of the manœuvres employed by ill-intentioned persons to deprive the nation of the fruits of the efforts of the magistracy, and to substitute anarchy and sedition in the room of the acquisition of a just and generous liberty. They recommended, as the most desirable of all preliminaries, harmony between the different orders; and they regretted that they should have been themselves so much misunderstood in their selection of the model of 1614. By this selection they had undoubtedly intended to point out the mode of convocation by bailliages as preferable to all others; but they were neither empowered nor had designed to put any restriction upon the confidence of the electors; and with respect to the proportion of representatives for the three orders, as it was undetermined either by law or any constant usage, they had always meant to refer to the discretion of the sovereign the choice of such measures as might best accord with reason, with liberty, with justice, and with the national sentiment. To quiet the perturbation that at present existed, the parliament begged leave to recommend to the king to convoke the

states-general as speedily as possible, and, previously to that convocation, to sanction and consecrate the following fundamental principles; the periodical assembling of this national body; their right to mortgage in perpetuity to the public creditors the produce of certain taxes; their obligation towards the constituents to grant no other taxes but for a definite time, and to a given amount; their right expressly to appropriate the public money to the different services in which it should be employed; the resolution of the king to consent to the immediate abolition of all taxes bearing partially upon particular orders; the responsibility of ministers; the right of the states-general to accuse and impeach before the parliaments all national offenders, saving the privilege of the parliament's attorney to exercise the same function; the mutual relation between the states-general and the courts of law, so that the latter might not and could not suffer the levy of any tax, nor take part in the execution of any law of whatever sort or description, that had not previously been demanded or sanctioned by the former; the individual liberty of the citizen, to be secured by the obligation of the party arresting to commit him to a legal prison, and surrender him to the discretion of his natural judges; lastly the legal liberty of the press, the only secure and ready source of innocence against oppression, reserving a responsibility for reprehensible works after their publication, according to the exigence of the case.

An observation early suggested by this resolution of the parliament was, that, while they had enumerated most of the other privileges secured by the British Constitution, they had carefully omitted the trial by jury; and indeed it is impossible to read their decision without remarking, that, at the same time that they were perfectly ready to concede all other prerogatives but their own, they spoke of these as matters of the highest consequence,
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and exalted themselves to a level with all that prejudice admires, or reason teaches to be invaluable. A proceeding so specious and artificial obtained for them little credit with any party; and the court, which had lately seemed rather under the influence of resentment than policy, replied with haughtiness to their representations, that "with his parliament the king had nothing to discuss; it was with the assembled nation that he would concert such measures as might permanently consolidate the public order and prosperity of the whole."

M. d'Espreménil published at this period a very brief disquisition, which may be regarded as the most authentic commentary upon the resolution of the 5th of December. According to him, the voting by separate orders was the constitution, and the voting in a single assembly the exception; an exception, to which it might be necessary to have recourse upon extraordinary cases, but which must always be adopted by the voluntary assent of the three orders. The fermentation that had been excited about doubling or not doubling the representation of the tiers état, was an example of perversity and malevolence that no history could parallel. In fact, he observed, all France was of one opinion. The clergy and nobility were willing to concede their pecuniary privileges; and this concession on the one hand, and the independence of orders on the other, were only wanting to render the nation happy and free. He was nevertheless of opinion, that the representation of the tiers état ought to be doubled: not to protect them against the aristocratical orders, there was no longer any contest between them; but because a full and numerous representation of the people was the best security against ministerial despotism, the common enemy of the sovereign and of every order in the state.

Whether it was that the parliamentary leaders were disappointed of the applause they expected to gain by
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their palinodia, or that they thought they had gone far enough in qualification, and it was now necessary to shew their impartiality, their next public proceeding was to burn by the hands of the common hangman a pamphlet written in defence of the popular principles; and the harangue, which it was usual upon such occasions for the attorney general to deliver, was full of vehement invectives against what he styled the extravagant pretensions of the tiers etat. In the same spirit they soon after summoned to their bar the author and printer of a petition, calling itself the petition of the inhabitants of Paris, and to which signatures were solicited by advertisements and circular letters. Having heard the parties, they issued a strict prohibition for the future against such advertisements, and the public exposition of petitions for signature, as contrary to good order, and capable of being applied by ill-intentioned persons to the worst of purposes.

It was never more necessary than upon the present occasion, that the executive government should interfere, and endeavour to compose the mutual jealousies and misunderstandings, which daily became wider and more angry, as the decision, uncertain in its issue, advanced nearer to a crisis. This decision was at length made public in the result of a council of the 27th of December, by which it was determined, that the number of deputies to the ensuing states-general should not fall short of a thousand; that it should be apportioned with all practicable accuracy, conformable to the population and financial contributions of the different bailliages; and that the representation of the tiers etat should be equal to the sum of the representation of the other two orders.

C H A P. II.

State of parties previous to the meeting of the states-general—Riot at Paris—Assembly of the states—Contest with respect to the mode of voting by orders or by poll—The tiers etat constitute themselves a national assembly—Assembly repulsed from the hall of the states—Take an oath never to separate till the constitution be settled—Royal session—Union of the orders—Projects of the court—Paris encircled with military—Soldiers released from prison by the populace—Famine in Paris—Remonstrance of the assembly—Dismission of M. Necker—Disturbances at Paris—Firmness of the national assembly—The Bastille taken.

THE attention of all Europe was fixed on the meeting of the states-general, while the minds of the French themselves continued to be agitated by a variety of different and contending passions and opinions. Those who were in possession of power, were desirous of retaining it; and those who had no dependence but upon their abilities, hoped that a new constitution of things would elevate them to that rank, to which, from their merits, they conceived themselves entitled. The two great parties, which were afterwards to divide the nation, were already formed. The pertinacity with which the privileged orders were determined to adhere to their peculiar advantages, is evident from what we have stated in the preceding chapter; and on the other hand, a multitude of writers of the greatest eminence were employed in exciting the tiers etat to the assertion of its right. The claims of the nobility and clergy were examined with acuteness, with precision, with research. The balance of ability was greatly on the side of the people, and the usages of antiquity faded before the light of genius and of truth. Previous to this period, that extraordinary

society or club* was formed, which has since had so considerable and so pernicious an influence over the public affairs. Its members instituted an active correspondence throughout the kingdom, and, by cultivating a uniformity of opinion on political subjects, produced, in time, that uniformity of will, which afterwards appeared to govern the popular councils.

The political schism which had already taken place, was not likely to be composed during the necessary turbulence of an election. Yet the system on which the French elections were conducted, is less liable to tumult and disorder than where there is an open and immediate poll; and though the leaders of parties were sufficiently animated in the support of their particular sentiments, the great body of the people were either dubious of the consequences, or were not yet warmed in the contest. The meetings for the nomination of electors were not so numerously attended as might have been supposed; and even in some places, where a thousand voters were expected, not above fifty appeared:

The spirit of the two parties was manifested in the *cahiers* (or instructions to their representatives) which were drawn up on this occasion. The nobility and the clergy in their separate chambers digested their instructions, the first object of which was to preserve what they were pleased to consider as their own rights; the second, to demand the rights of the people. The monarch, according to this system, was the only devoted party; and with his rights the states-general might make as free as they pleased. All parties, however, agreed in renouncing a part of their pecuniary privileges. The instructions of the tiers etat were hastily composed; but that uniformity of sentiment, which the sufferings of the people and the activity of their leaders had produced, was evident in them all. They demanded the suppression of more abuses than the national assembly was able in three years to des-

* The Jacobins.

troy,

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trov, more than perhaps ever can be eradicated; all, however, were unanimous in demanding a constitution, liberty, the assumption of natural rights, and the protection of the public treasure from the depredations of the court. The deputies of each order departed thus instructed to maintain the claims of their particular party. "Those of the tiers etat," says a distinguished member of the assembly, "carried with them the benedictions and the prayers of the multitude."

Such were the object which occupied the reflecting part of the nation; but whatever might be the expectations of others, the favourites of the courts could not fail to perceive that the violence of the storm would break upon their heads. The instructions which were dictated by the tiers etat for the government of its representatives, the vast extent of its demands, and the number and ability of the publication in support of these demands, made them feel the necessity of opposing against that order the full force of every existing authority. M. Necker was desirous that the states might be assembled at Paris; but the king preferred Versailles, where the communication between the members and the court would be more immediate. It is evident that the deputies of the tiers etat, who were collected from every remote quarter of the kingdom, and many of them entirely unacquainted with the great world, assembled under considerable disadvantages, in a place where every thing bore the stamp of despotism, and where intrigue and venality had industriously spread their choicest allurements. The agents of the court had already established conferences at the house of Madame Polignac; and it is said by the democratic party, that the chief object of their deliberation was to unite the two principal orders, the clergy and nobles, and to retain the commons in a state of dependence and subjection. On the other hand, the deputies of the people were not without their jealousies; and those of each province, held their
separate

separate meetings, till at length they became united in that of Brittany.

It is evident that the voting by orders, and not by poll, that is, the assembling of the different orders in their separate chambers, and investing each with the prerogative of putting a negative on the proceedings of the other two, was the only stratagem which the court party could employ to disconcert the measures of the patriots; and it must be confessed, that such an arrangement would probably have rendered the whole proceedings of the states-general a solemn farce, and could never have established any substantial reform. This was the great question which was presently to involve the national representatives in faction and contest.

While those important concerns were in agitation, a circumstance occurred which is supposed on all parts to have originated in some malevolent motive, whether of a public or a private nature is not so easy to decide. In the populous suburb of St. Antoine, a very considerable paper-manufactory was carried on, and a number of workmen consequently maintained, by a respectable citizen of the name of Reveillon. This gentleman had accused a certain abbe Roy, a dependent of the count d'Artois, of forgery, and the matter was before the courts. Whether, therefore, it arose from private revenge in the abbe, or whether the court party might imagine that a riot at Paris would afford a fair apology for the approach of such a number of troops as might effectually awe the representatives of the nation, is uncertain. A groundless report was maliciously spread, that M. Reveillon intended considerably to lower the wages of his workmen, that he had asserted the bread was too good for them, and that they might subsist as well upon potatoe flower—with many insinuations to the same effect. On the 27th of April, both the suburbs of St. Marc and St. Antoine were in motion, and M. Reveillon was

was burnt in effigy. The most extraordinary circumstance was that it had been announced to the police, that the preceding days a number of strangers had entered the city, and these men were now the leaders of the insurrection, and, by profusely scattering money amongst the mob, increased both its numbers and its ferocity. A small detachment of the French guards was sent to effect their dispersion, but it was too weak to resist the rabble. At the dawn of the following day, the outrages were renewed; and M. Reveillon's house was pillaged and destroyed. At length a formidable part of the military was ordered out, and, after a considerable carnage, the tumult was quelled.

Paris was scarcely recovered from the terror and apprehension which this insurrection occasioned, when the day appointed for the meeting of the states-general arrived. The 5th of May 1789 will be long memorable in the annals of France, and it was indeed a day of festivity to the whole nation. It commenced, agreeably to ancient custom, with a religious act. The representatives of the nation, preceded by the clergy, and followed by the king, repaired to the temple of God, accompanied with an immense crowd, offering vows and prayers for success to their labours.

The whole ceremony indicated the distinction of orders, and evinced that it was the secret determination of the court strictly to maintain it. Faithful to the customs of 1614, the nobility were arrayed in a sumptuous robe, and the deputies of the commons in the habit of the law. Thus, while the nobility and the higher clergy glittered in gold and jewels, the representatives of the people appeared in mourning; but the spectators were not dazzled by splendid appearances; that body which represented the nation engrossed all its applause, and *Vive le tiers état!* was echoed from every quarter.

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The assembly was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the monarch declared his satisfaction at seeing himself surrounded, after so long an interval, by the representatives of his people—he mentioned the heavy debt of the public, a part of which had accumulated during his own reign, but in an honourable cause—he hinted at the general disquiet, and the love of innovation which had taken possession of the minds of the people; but depended on their wisdom and moderation in the adoption of alterations; and concluded by warm professions of his own attachment to the public welfare.

The speech of M. Barretin, the keeper of the seals, was but little attended to. It, as well as that of the king, recommended temper in adopting alterations in the government; intimated, that the king had acceded to the wishes of his people in granting to the tiers etat a double representation, but left the great question of voting by orders or by poll entirely undecided.

The attention which was refused to the keeper of the seals was most liberally accorded to M. Neckar, though his address continued for three hours. It did not, however, pass exempt from criticism—some alleged that it was an ill-arranged and ill-digested mass; the republicans complained that he did not enlarge sufficiently on their favourite topic; they expected it to be filled with projects and with systems; the privileged orders wished him to be more explicit in tracing out a plan of proceedings for the states-general; but all agreed that nothing could be more luminous and satisfactory than the details which he recited concerning the finances of the nation; nothing more simple and correct than the plans which he proposed.

The situation of M. Neckar, indeed, at this critical period, was peculiarly delicate. He was placed between the court and the people, at a time when it was impossible for an honest man to attend equally to the claims of
each

each party. From him every thing was expected by the people, while it was impossible to comply with the plenitude of their demands. On the contrary, the love and admiration of the people was sufficient to render him suspected by the courtiers. He was despised by the high nobility for his inferiority of birth and family; and he was odious to the bigotted clergy because he was a protestant. Fortunately for M. Neckar, his integrity was above all suspicion; every person in the kingdom, from the monarch to the peasant, was satisfied of the rectitude of his heart. His temper and moderation were of the utmost importance in turbulent times. His influence frequently interposed against the excesses of popular infatuation; and the dignity and virtue of his character gave him consequence even with the enemies of liberty.

The first object of the state was the *verification of their powers*, that is, the production of their writs of return, and the identification of the deputies, which is equivalent to our members of parliament taking their seats. On this occasion the fatal contest between the three orders commenced. The deputies of the commons saw plainly that the people had in vain achieved their wish with respect to the number of representatives—in vain the deputies of the tiers etat in number constituted a half of the states-general, if by the mode of voting they were to be reduced to a third. They saw further, that should the verification of their powers be effected in separate chambers, each order would then be constituted a legal assembly, and the union be rendered for ever impossible.

Thus the dispute which was of so much importance, concerning the voting by orders or by poll, commenced even upon the verification of their returns. At the appointed hour the deputies of the tiers etat assembled in the common hall. After half an hour spent in that confusion to which so numerous an assembly was naturally liable

liable, a voice more articulate than the rest proclaimed the necessity of order, and advised the appointment of a temporary president, a secretary, and clerks. When the chair was to be taken, the public voice demanded the oldest citizen—he presented himself, and asked of the assembly the assistance of some younger man to act as his herald. Some debates and motions succeeded this appointment; the general object of which was, that the orders should proceed to verify their powers in common, and not in separate chambers.

The debates of the clergy and nobility were not less tumultuous. In the first order, the members deliberated under the temporary presidency of the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, whether the powers should be verified and legitimated in the chamber appropriated to the order?—One hundred and thirty-three members were for the affirmative; one hundred and fourteen were of opinion that this ceremony could only take place in the general assembly, and before commissioners chosen from all the three orders.

In the second, M. de Montboisier, as the oldest nobleman present, was called to the chair. Two motions were made, one for the verification of the powers, by commissioners exclusively chosen from the order of nobility; and the other, from the same verification, before commissioners selected from the three orders. The principal argument in favour of the first of these opinions was, that the orders themselves were the only judges competent to decide the legality of pretensions to nobility: and in answer it was urged, that the elections had been sanctioned by the three orders of each bailiwick; and the oaths administered in their presence. It was, however, determined in favour of the verification in their own chamber, by one hundred and eighty-eight voices against forty-seven.

The commons, satisfied that a state of inaction would in a short time effect their wishes, determined to persevere.

vere. They carried their respect to this principle so far as not to open the addresses which were directed to the deputies of the tiers etat, and which lay upon their table. The clergy also suspended the verification of their powers; but the nobility, who conceived that every thing was to give way to their rank and privileges, declared themselves a legal assembly, and on the 13th of May sent a deputation to the commons to acquaint them with these proceedings.

In the mean time, the clergy, who were divided in their opinions, and among whom the cures* (or parochial clergy) were in general attached to the cause of the people, proposed to the other orders the nomination of commissioners to conciliate the present disputes. To this proposal the nobility assented; and in the assembly of the commons, it was moved by M. Rabaut de St Etienne, a protestant clergyman, "that commissioners should be named to treat with the clergy and nobility concerning the union of the orders in one common assembly."—M. Chappelier, an advocate of Rennes in Brittany, followed it by a motion declaring, "that no mode of conciliation could be admitted, which had not for its basis the deliberation of all the orders in common; and censuring in strong terms the conduct of the nobility. The Count de Mirabeau observed, "that the nobility commanded, while the clergy negotiated." He was therefore of opinion, that the commissioners should not treat with the nobles, but with the clergy only; but at length the simple proposition of M. Rabaut was adopted, with a trifling amendment.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the negotiation proved fruitless. The nobility; having heard the report

* Mr. Burke and other Englishmen have strangely translated this word literally *curate*, whereas it strictly answers to the legal meaning of our word *parson*, and means an ecclesiastical person possessed of a benefice with cure (or care) of souls.

of the commissioners, voted, "that the present assembly of the states-general, the powers should for this time be verified separately; and that the examination of the advantages or inconveniences resulting from this method should be referred to a future period, when the orders should take into consideration the future organization of the states-general."—Thus every hope being defeated of a union with the nobles, the commons determined, on the 27th of May, to send a solemn deputation to the clergy, to invite them, "in the name of the God of peace, and of the true interest of the nation, to unite themselves with them in one general assembly, to consult together on the means of restoring unity and concord."

While this matter was in agitation, a letter was received from the king, desiring "that the conciliatory commissioners would meet in the presence of the keeper of the seals, and some other commissioners to be appointed by the monarch, in order to renew their conferences, &c."—In the mean time the chamber of the nobles (this sovereign legislative chamber, as it was called by one of its members) passed a decree, asserting, "that they regarded as a part of the constitution, the division of orders, and their respective veto, and that in these principles they were determined to persevere." The second conferences therefore were equally unsuccessful with the first.

In the course of these conferences, however, the ministers proposed on the part of the king, a plan of conciliation, or rather of arbitration; the principal articles of which were,

1st. That the three orders should verify their powers separately, and should reciprocally communicate the same to each other.

2d. That in case any contents should arise, commissioners should be appointed from the three orders to take the same into consideration, and report their opinions to their different orders.

3d. That

3d. That should the three orders not agree upon any topic in dispute, the final determination should be referred to the king.

The two superior orders applauded this plan of conciliation; but while the nobles pretended to accept it, they qualified their acquiescence with a decided resolution to adhere to their former decree, and to the plan of voting only by orders. At the same time they proceeded to the verification of the powers, to determine the controverted returns, &c.

While these affairs were transacting among the nobles, the clergy sent a deputation to the tiers etat, lamenting the high price of bread, and proposing a committee of the three orders to concert of the means of alleviating this evil.—This proceeding of the clergy was represented by some members as deeply insidious, as a means of ingratiating themselves with the people, and of rendering the deputies of the commons unpopular should they refuse to co-operate. It was therefore immediately resolved to return for answer the following address:—

“Penetrated with the same zeal as yourselves, and viewing with tears of compassion the public distress, we beseech and conjure you to unite with us immediately in the common hall, to consult on the means of remedying these calamities.”

It was now near five weeks since the states-general had assembled, and the three orders found themselves in the same inactive state as at first. The commons therefore conceived it was full time to emerge from this criminal inactivity, and to afford an opportunity to those of the nobility and clergy who professed a sincere love for their country, to become active in its favour. They divided themselves into twenty committees, to facilitate the public business; and on the 10th of June, the abbe Sieyes proposed that they should take a last effort for an union of the orders; and should this fail, that they should

then form themselves into an *active assembly*, for the dispatch of business.

In consequence of this proposal, notice was sent on the 12th, that they would immediately order a general call of the deputies of all the bailiwicks, including those of the privileged classes; and in default of their appearance, that they would proceed to the verification of the powers, and to every other public object, as well in the absence as in the presence of the nobility and clergy.

On the 13th, they proceeded to the call of the deputies, and to the verification of the returns. Not one of the nobility appeared; but on the call of the bailiwick of Poitou, three cures, Messrs. Cefve, Ballard, and Jalot, presented themselves with the writs of their return, which they laid respectfully upon the table. These venerable pastors were received with the warmest transports of joy and acclamation. They had declared their intentions the preceding evening in the chamber of the clergy; and they were followed the next day by five more of their brethren, among whom were Messrs. Dillon, Gregoire, and Bodineau.

In the mean time the unpopularity of the nobility increased almost to detestation, and to their obstinacy the inactivity of the states was wholly attributed. At length the deputies of the people felt themselves supported by the public opinion, and on the 17th of June proceeded to the daring step of assuming to themselves the legislative government. On that memorable day, in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, the deputies of the people, with such of the clergy as had already joined them, announced themselves to the public by the since celebrated denomination of *national assembly*. The hall re-echoed with exclamations of joy—"Long live the king and the national assembly!" But when the representatives of the people rose in solemn silence to take the oath to fulfil with fidelity their duty, every eye was melted

melted into tears, and the enthusiasm of liberty took possession of every heart. This solemn ceremony was succeeded by the nomination of M. Bailly to the office of president for four days only, and that of Messrs. Camus and Pison de Galand as secretaries for the same space of time.

The first resolutions of the assembly, while they were declaratory of the constitutional power vested in the representatives of the people, had also a regard to the urgent necessities of the state. They pronounced "all levies, imposts or taxes unconstitutional, which were not enacted by the formal consent of the representatives of the nation; that consequently the existing taxes were illegal and null; that notwithstanding this, they, in the name of the nation, gave a temporary sanction to the present taxes and levies, which were to continue to be levied in the manner they had hitherto been, only until the separation of the assembly, from whatever cause that might happen." The assembly proceeded to declare, "that as soon as, in concert with his majesty, it should be able to fix and determine the principles of national regeneration, it would take into formal consideration the *national debt*, placing from the present moment the creditors of the state under the safeguard of the honour and faith of the French nation." These decrees conclude with a resolution to inquire into the causes of the scarcity which at that period afflicted the kingdom, and into the means of remedying and averting that calamity.

The firm and temperate conduct of the national assembly awed at first, but did not entirely disconcert the aristocratic party, which assiduously employed every artifice to elude the blow with which they were threatened. The chamber of the clergy had been engaged for some days in discussing the manner in which they should verify their powers; and a number of cures had, during the discussion, presented their writs or titles to the assembly, and returned

to their own chamber to defend the popular cause. At length, on the 19th of June, a majority of that body voted for the verification of their powers in common with the national assembly; which so much alarmed the court party, that it is confidently reported that M. d'Espremeniil proposed, in the chamber of the nobles, an address to the king, beseeching him to dissolve the states-general.

The court was then at Marly, and M. Neckar, engaged with a dying sister, left the king exposed to every stratagem that was spread for him by the unprincipled courtiers. Repeated counsels were held, the result of which could not be very favourable to the views of the people: at last the king was impressed with the necessity of commanding the advance of an immense military force to the capital; and both the object and the consequences seemed to countenance the opinion that the designs of the party did not end there.

However this may be, the friends of liberty and humanity cannot sufficiently regret that the king, from the first, did not enter upon a more uniform tenor of conduct. The wavering politics of the court served to cast a suspicion upon all its designs. Either the king should at first have resisted the convoking of the states-general (which however, in the actual circumstances of France, would, possibly, not have prevented a rebellion), or, from the moment of their meeting, he should have adopted every popular measure, and depended upon nothing but public opinion for the support of his authority. Among those who appeared most forward in favour of liberty, it is impossible that many profligate and dangerous characters should not have insinuated themselves, but it was the ill conduct of the court only which enabled them to put in execution their wicked designs.

On Saturday the 20th of June, the day on which the clergy were to unite themselves to the national assembly, the heralds proclaimed a royal session; and a detachment
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of the guards surrounded the hall of the states, in order, as it was alledged, that it might be properly prepared for the king. The president and members were repulsed from the door, and acquainted by the commanding officer, that his orders were "to admit no person into the hall of the states-general."—"And I protest against these orders," replied the president, "and the assembly shall take cognizance of them."

Supported as they perceived themselves to be by the voice of the people, the assembly were not to be discouraged by this puerile expedient. On the motion of M. Bailly, they immediately adjourned to a tennis-court, situated in the street of old Versailles, where, in the presence of applauding thousands, they took a solemn oath, "never to separate till the constitution should be completed."

On the 22d another proclamation was issued, intimating, that the royal session was deferred till the succeeding day; and the hall of the states-general still remained closed, on account of the preparations. The assembly wandered from place to place, before they could find a roof capacious enough to shelter so considerable a body. They at length assembled in the church of St. Louis; and the majority of the clergy, amounting to 149, assembled in the choir. After a deputation to arrange the ceremonies, the doors of the choir were thrown open; the clergy advanced with their president the archbishop of Vienne at their head, and the deputies cordially embraced each other. The sanctity of the place contributed to render the meeting more solemn and affecting and the plaudits of the spectators testified at once their triumph and their joy. Two nobles of Dauphine, the marquis de Blacon, and count d'Agoult, attended at the same time to present their powers; the rest of the minority of the first order, waited the result of the royal session.

The events which had taken place at Versailles, and the change which they announced in the dispositions of the government, with respect to the national assembly, excited at Paris the utmost consternation. Nor could a letter from M. Neckar to the magistrates, assuring them that no such measure was intended as the dissolution of the states-general, entirely allay the ferment. The royal session took place on the 23d. It was attended at once with all that is awful, and all that is magnificent in arbitrary authority. The hall was surrounded with soldiers. The two privileged orders were seated; while the representatives of the people were left without, exposed for more than an hour to the rain. M. de Mirabeau urged the president to conduct the nation immediately to the presence of the king, or to demand at least that the gates should be opened. They were opened at length to the deputies, but not to the people. The throne was raised upon a kind of stage or platform at the bottom of the hall; on the right the clergy were seated, and on the left the nobility. The four heralds, with their king at arms, were stationed in the middle; and at the bottom of the platform was a table, round which the ministers were seated; one chair however was vacant, which should have been occupied by M. Neckar; nor did any part of this ill-conducted business excite more general disgust than the absence of that favourite minister.

The speech and declarations of the king were a singular mixture of patriotism and despotic authority. He spoke of the *favours which he conferred* upon his people; and caused to be read a declaration of his sovereign will, as if the legislature were only called to consent to such laws as should be proposed by the executive power, without being competent to propose any themselves. He suggested a plan of government, in which the distinction of orders was to be preserved, allowing them however occasionally to debate in common, with the king's approbation.

bation. Not a word was advanced on the subject of the responsibility of ministers, nor in the participation of the states-general in the legislative power. The tedious tyranny of *lettres de cachet* was formally announced to be continued, with only a few modifications. A guarded silence was observed concerning the liberty of the press, and the pernicious tax of lotteries. In fine, the king declared *null* the deliberations and resolves of the 17th, and *ordered* the deputies immediately to separate, and to appear before him on the following day.

When the king retired, he was followed by all the nobility, and by part of the clergy. The deputies of the commons remained motionless on the benches, and preserved a gloomy silence. The marquis de Breze, grand-master of the ceremonies, entered the hall, and addressing himself to the president, "You know sir," said he, "the intentions of the king."—The president answered respectfully, that the assembly was not constituted to receive orders from any person; but the fervid Mirabeau, rising from his seat, and addressing himself to M. de Breze, replied, "The commons of France have determined to debate. We have heard the intentions which have been suggested by the king; and you, who cannot be his agent at the states-general, you, who have here neither seat, nor voice, nor a right to speak, are not the person to remind us of his speech. Go tell your master, that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." The enthusiasm of the assembly seconded that of the orator, and with one unanimous voice they declared that such was their determination.

The grand-master retired, and a profound silence pervaded the hall. It was at length broken by M. Camus, who declaimed against the royal session, which he stigmatized by the contemptuous appellation of a *bed of justice*. and proposed a resolution declaratory of the assembly's adherence to their former decrees, which he asserted no

power could annul. He was warmly supported by Mess. Barnave, Glaizen, Pethion, the abbe Gregoire, and many others. The Abbe Sieyes only observed, "Gentlemen, you are the same to-day, that you were before." The motion of M. Camus was unanimously decreed; and was followed by another, which pronounced "the persons of the deputies inviolable."

M. Necker had several times solicited his dismissal, but was constantly refused by the king. When his Majesty returned from the royal session, he was followed by a crowd of more than six thousand citizens, and the public discontent was manifested by murmurs and exclamations. The majority of the members of the assembly waited on M. Neckar, and conjured him to remain faithful to the nation and king, and to remain in the ministry. The consternation however became general, when, at six in the evening, the queen sent for the director-general of the finances, and through her apartments introduced him to the royal closet. At about half past six the minister came out of the palace on foot by a private door; but as soon as he appeared, there was a general shout of *Vive M. Necker!* Some of the populace prostrated themselves on their knees, entreating him to remain with them as their father and their guide. He satisfied their importunities, by assuring them, that he would not abandon them; that he had pledged himself to the king, and was resolved to live or die with them.

The assembly met the next day, and were joined by the majority of the clergy; and on the 25th, forty-nine members of the nobility, with the duke d'Orleans at their head, made their appearance in the assembly. The rector of the university of Paris, and the prior of Marmon-tiers, came the same day to augment the number of the patriotic clergy. In the mean time, the dissidents among the privileged orders continued in a violent state of agitation; and M. de Espremenil even accused the deputies
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of the tiers etat of high treason. The archbishop of Paris, pressed by his connections into the service of a party which in his heart he condemned, passed at this period for one of the chiefs of the aristocratic cabal: and his house had been attacked by a furious mob, who, however, were dispersed without mischief by a detachment of the guards. On the 26th he was introduced to the assembly by the archbishop of Bourdeaux. Some others of the superior clergy, and the Count de Crecy, took their seats on the same day; and even in the chamber of the nobles, the union was again deliberated upon, and with less animosity than before.

In the midst of contending factions, which occasionally sported with his credulity or his fears, the king still appeared to preserve a genuine love for his people, and an unviolated regard to the claims of humanity. He felt himself unhappy at the divisions which existed, and determined to end them if possible at any expence. In a private conversation with the duke de Luxembourg, president of the chamber of nobles, he is said to have urged his wishes for an union of the orders. He was answered by that nobleman, That the order to which he belonged were not contending for themselves but for the crown.—He represented that the nobility was the only body on which his Majesty could depend to defeat the exorbitant claims of the people—that while the states-general continued divided, the royal authority was safe; but whenever the day should arrive that the states should vote by numbers only, from that moment the monarch was at their mercy. “I conjure your Majesty,” continued the duke, “to condescend to reflect on what I have the honour to state.”—“M. de Luxembourg,” replied the king with firmness, “I have reflected, I am determined upon any sacrifice; nor will I that a single man lose his life in my cause.” In consequence of this determination the king on the 27th sent a pressing letter to the president
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of the nobility, and to the minority of the clergy, entreating the union of the orders. The clergy obeyed without hesitation; but it was not till after a very warm debate that the nobility submitted to the mandate of their sovereign. At the first news of this event, Versailles was transported with joy; the people ran in crowds to the palace, and demanded the king and queen. Their Majesties appeared at a balcony, and the atmosphere re-echoed with the shouts of *Vive le roi! Vive la reine!* A general illumination concluded the triumph of the day.

The union of the orders, however, instead of terminating their machinations, served but to increase the secret opposition of those who were likely to be the only sufferers by a reform of abuses in France; the courtiers and favourites who fattened on its ruin. The dissolution of the assembly was now the only means which could restore to power these harpies of the state; and there is no cause to doubt that this was at least their first object. Whether the king was acquainted or not with the project is uncertain, but probably he was not. His fears and his passions were doubtless excited by the artful circle that surrounded him; every intemperate expression that escaped in the assembly was assiduously conveyed to his ears, and its object even magnified. The turbulence of the metropolis was made an excuse for besieging it with mercenary armies. Thirty-five thousand men had been gradually collected from the extremities of the kingdom, and stationed in the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles. Camps were traced out for a still greater force; the lines of fortification were already drawn upon every eminence; and almost every post was occupied which commanded the city, or the roads which communicated with it. These arrangements were made under the inspection and authority of marshal Broglio, an approved commander, a man habituated from his youth to

to the subordination of a military life, and generally supposed to be completely devoted to the party of the court.

It must be remarked, however, that if the enemies of the popular cause were thus active, its friends (whatever might be their motive, whether selfish or patriotic) were not deficient in vigilance and foresight. A just apprehension of what might happen, had certainly induced them to insert in the *cahiers* or instructions of the tiers etat, a clause insisting that the pay of the soldiers should be increased; and on the same ground there is reason to credit the reports of the aristocratic writers, that the democrats had taken every means to ingratiate themselves with the soldiery, and to persuade them that in that capacity they did not cease to be citizens; but that, on the contrary, it was degrading and dishonourable to them to be considered as mere automatons, as passive instruments in the hands of power. Among the active *apostles of liberty*, as they are termed, who preached with such success to the military, the marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in the French guards, is particularly noted. It was indeed absurd to suppose, that amidst the general spread of information, the soldiery would either want means of acquiring it, or be callous to its influence. So early, therefore, as the 23d of June, two companies of the grenadier guards had refused to fire upon the populace in some trifling riot. For this and other symptoms of disobedience the troops were confined to their barracks; but on the 25th and 26th they were seen by hundreds entering into the Palais Royal, the theatre of popular politics, and joining with the crowd in shouting *Vive le tiers etat!* In the same manner all the military that entered Paris were conducted to the Palais Royal; they were loaded with favours and caresses by the populace, and heard with attentive ear the declamations against the baseness of imbruing their hands in the

the blood of their fellow citizens, and against the slavery of their present condition. The soldiers, melted into tenderness, exclaimed with ardour, *Vive la Nation!* and returned to their camp to extend the conquests of democracy. An incident happened on the 30th of June, which, while it evinced the dispositions of the nation and the soldiery, was probably not without its effects in attaching still more strongly the army to the people. About seven o'clock in the evening, a letter was brought to a coffee house adjacent to the Palais Royal, intimating that eleven of the French guards were at that moment confined in the prisons of the abbey St. Germain, for having refused to fire on their fellow citizens; and that the same night they were to be transferred to the dungeons of the Bicetre, a place destined for the vilest miscreants. Their cause was presently considered as the cause of the public; a mob was almost instantly collected, the prison was forced, and the dragoons and hussars which were called out to quell the riot grounded their arms. A soldier who had been committed for some other crime, was reconducted to prison by the populace, who declared that they would only take under their protection those who were the victims of despotism.

The eleven prisoners, who had been thus taken from the abbey, were conducted by the people to the hotel de Geneve, where they were kept, as they expressed it, under the guard of the nation, while a deputation of twenty citizens of Paris was dispatched to the national assembly to solicit their pardon. After some deliberation, in which it was doubted whether the assembly ought to receive a deputation from persons not appearing in a public character, a decree was passed, recommending in strong terms to the citizens, a strict attention to peace and order, and promising to apply to the king, to whose province the matter in question entirely belonged, in favour of the soldiers. A deputation from the assembly accordingly waited

waited on his Majesty, who declared himself much satisfied with the decree of the assembly, and granted a free pardon to the prisoners.

In the mean time, Paris was not only threatened with the sword, but was actually visited with one of the severest calamities that can affect a country. A most alarming scarcity pervaded the whole kingdom; but it may well be conceived that its effects were most severely felt in the capital, which has no resources of its own, and in which the accumulation of human beings must necessarily increase the misery. The gates of the assembly were surrounded by famishing multitudes, beseeching their compassion and assistance. A committee of subsistence was formed, and various reports received—prohibitions were issued against the exportation of corn, and a subscription was opened in Paris for the relief of the poor.

Under the pressure of such a calamity, it may well be supposed, that the people were not in the most tranquil state. The general exclamation was for bread; and unfortunately the unsettled state of the metropolis afforded a daily excuse for the augmentation of the military in its neighbourhood, at a time when their presence did but increase the general distress. The jealousy of the assembly was awakened farther, by observing, that for this service foreigners were preferred to the native troops; and that more soldiers were assembled round the hall of the states-general itself, than would have sufficed to repel a foreign invasion. On the 10th of July, a spirited remonstrance to the king was proposed by the count de Mirabeau, and enforced by that commanding eloquence of which he was master.

His address itself was a model of fine composition. It stated, that in consequence of the royal invitation to the assembly to give his Majesty some proofs of its confidence, they now came to inform him of the alarms at present existing, though not among themselves—that they
came

came not to solicit his protection, for they entertained no fears—that in a recent instance, his Majesty had seen the power which he possessed over the minds of the people—that the prisoners to whom the populace had given liberty, had of themselves resumed their fetters, and a single word from the mouth of their king had restored the public tranquility—that such a sway was the only one which could now be exercised in France—that the danger from the assembling of the troops did not threaten the assembly, but the provinces, the capital, which might be jealous for its representatives—that the danger was for the troops themselves, who might be alienated from authority by their communication with the metropolis—for the labours of the assembly, which might be interrupted by popular commotions—and for the king himself. It concluded with expressing their own firmness, and beseeching his majesty to remove the troops, since a monarch adored by twenty-five millions of subjects could not possibly stand in need of foreign support.

The king's answer was cold and unsatisfactory. It alleged that the tumultuous conduct of the metropolis was the reason for having surrounded it with troops—disclaimed every idea of interrupting the freedom of the assembly's deliberations—but added, that if the presence of the troops gave umbrage, he was ready, at the request of the assembly, to transfer the states-general to Noyon or Soissons, and to repair himself to Compiègne in order to maintain the necessary communication with the assembly. This answer was applauded by some of the members; but its design could not escape the penetration of Mirabeau, who in a short speech detected its fallacy.—“The answer of the king,” said he, “is a direct refusal to our requisition—we will remove neither to Noyon nor to Soissons—we will not place ourselves between two hostile armies, that which is besieging Paris, and that which may fall upon us from Flanders and Alsace—we have

have not asked permission to run away from the troops; we have desired that the troops should be removed from the capital."

It is unfortunate for the memory of the late monarch, that no authentic documents have been procured to explain what were at this period the actual designs of the court. The Democratic writers affirm, that a plan was actually concerted for a dissolution of the assembly, and the full resumption of despotic authority. They assert, that the night of the 14th or 15th of July was fixed upon for the attack of the metropolis, which was already besieged by fifty thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon. They describe the arrangement which was planned for the assault; and some of them add, that not only the dissolution of the assembly, but a dreadful and sanguinary execution of its most distinguished members was to succeed. However little we may be disposed to credit this statement, the least we can believe is, that, agreeably to the declaration in the royal session of the 23d of June, the authority, if not the very phantom, of the states-general was to be annihilated; and that something evil was intended was most evident from the dismissal of M. Neckar, which prematurely took place on the 11th of July. He was at dinner when the letter of the king, ordering him to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours, was brought him by the count de la Luzerne. Without appearing the least concerned, he had the presence of mind to tell the count, as he went out of the room, "We shall meet again at the council;" and continued to converse with the archbishop of Bourdeaux and the rest of the company that were dining with him, as if nothing had happened. About five o'clock in the afternoon he complained of a pain in his head, and asked Madame Neckar, if she would accompany him in an airing. He was not more than a league from Versailles, when he desired the coachman to drive on more quickly to St. Ouen, his country

country house. He passed the night there, and prepared for the journey; and this was the first opportunity he had of acquainting his daughter the baroness de Stael with the event, though she was present when he received the order of the king to quit the country like a criminal. He took the road to Brussels, as the nearest frontier; and carried with him, says M. Rabaut, the confidence of the nation.

The new arrangements in the ministry were the marshal Broglio, minister of war; the baron de Breteuil, president of finance; M. de la Galeziere, comptroller-general; M. de la Porte, intendant of the war department; and M. Foulon, intendant of the navy.

It is impossible to describe the consternation which pervaded the whole city of Paris on the receipt of this afflicting intelligence. The person who first reported it at the Hotel de Ville was considered as a lunatic, and with difficulty escaped some harsh treatment. It was no sooner confirmed, than the shops and places of public amusement were all shut up. A body of citizens ran to the warehouse of a statuary, and having procured the busts of M. Neckar and the duke d'Orleans, dressed them in mourning, and carried them about the streets. In their progress they were stopped by a German regiment, the royal Allemand, when the busts were broken by the soldiers; one man lost his life, and others of the populace were wounded. The army now came forward in force, with the prince de Lambesq, grand ecuyer of France, at their head, who was ordered to take post at the Thuilleries. Irritated, perhaps, at the spirit of resistance which he observed in the citizens, he imprudently wounded with his sabre a poor old man who was walking peaceably in the gardens. The French have a remarkable respect for age, and this wanton outrage proved the signal of revolt; an instantaneous alarm was spread through the city, and the cry of *To Arms* resounded in every

every quarter. The Germans were vigorously attacked by the populace who were joined by the French guards, and, overwhelmed by numbers, were obliged to retreat. From that moment the guards took leave of their officers, they set fire to their several barracks, and formed themselves into companies with the citizens, to patrol the streets, and preserve, if possible, the public tranquillity.

The citizens of Paris at this moment beheld themselves in a most alarming and critical situation, Whether true or not, the reports of the intended attack upon the city were universally credited; and the mysterious and impolitic proceedings of the court gave countenance, it must be confessed, to every suspicion. On the other hand, troops of banditti, the pests of a populous city, such as are ever ready to take advantage of public commotion, were beginning to collect; and, either from these on the one hand, or the foreign soldiery on the other, a general pillage was the only event that could be expected. Covered by the darkness of the night, several bands of ruffians paraded the streets, and even set fire to the city in different places: the horrid silence was interrupted only by confused shouts, and occasional discharges of musquetry. In this disastrous night sleep only sealed the eyes of infants; they only reposed in peace, while their anxious parents watched over their cradles.

Versailles was not more tranquil; but the court party, abandoning themselves to an indecent joy, concluded the evening of the 12th with a tumultuous banquet. The women of the court mingled with the foreign soldiers in lascivious dances, to the sound of the German music: their triumph, however, was not of long duration; a false report of 100,000 armed citizens being on the road to Versailles, joined to their mistrust of the national troops, gave at least a momentary check to their extravagant exultation.

The morning of the 13th displayed at Paris a most shocking spectacle of confusion and dismay; a band of villains had already pillaged the charitable house of St. Lazare; at six o'clock the alarm bells sounded throughout the city, and the terror became universal. The citizens assembled at the Hotel de Ville, and no alternative appeared for the protection of their lives and property, but that of embodying themselves, and forming a regular militia for the defence of the capital*. Sixty thousand citizens were soon enrolled, and marshalled under different commanders: the French guards spontaneously offered their services, and distributed among the different companies. The standards of the city were displayed; trenches were thrown up, and barricades formed in different parts of the suburbs. Regulations were next established for the preservation of order, and a permanent council or committee, to sit night and day, was appointed. At about half past five in the afternoon this committee dispatched a deputation to acquaint the national assembly with the occurrences which had taken place at Paris.

The assembly had been engaged, from the day when they presented their address to the king, in framing a declaration of rights, and the plan of a constitution; and even in the midst of these alarms, they continued without intermission their patriotic labours. In the disgrace of M. Neckar they saw their own ruin determined; yet proceeded with a firmness tempered with moderation, a courage ennobled by dignity, which reflects on their conduct immortal honour. In their debates they carefully drew the line, and distinguished between the prerogatives and functions of the legislative and those of the executive powers; and on receiving the intelligence that

* Such was at least the public pretext: the democratic party had it undoubtedly in view by this arrangement to be able more effectually to oppose the foreign soldiery.

Paris was in a state of uproar and confusion, a deputation was dispatched to the king, informing him once more of the danger which threatened the state from the presence of the troops that invested the metropolis; entreating in the most pressing terms their removal; and offering to oppose their own persons in the impending storm, and to proceed immediately to Paris to assist, by their persuasions and authority, in the re-establishment of order and peace. The king remained immovable in his determination—he replied, “that he was the only judge of the necessity of removing the troops; that the presence of the deputies could be of no service in Paris; on the contrary, they were necessary at Versailles, to prosecute there those important labours which he should continue to recommend.”

It is evident that the answer of the king could not by any means be agreeable to the assembly. It was therefore no sooner communicated than the marquis de la Fayette demanded an immediate declaration of the responsibility of ministers, and the assembly unanimously resolved—

“That M. Necker and the rest of the late ministry carried with them the confidence and the regret of the assembly, that they would not cease to insist on the removal of the troops; that no intermediate power can assist between the king and the representatives of the nation; that the ministers and agents of authority civil and military are responsible to the people for their conduct; that the present ministers and counsellors of his majesty were personally responsible for the impending calamities, and all those which might be the consequences of their advice; that the assembly having placed the public debts under the safeguard of the honour and loyalty of the French nation, no power has a right even to pronounce the infamous word *bankruptcy*; that they persisted in all their former decrees; and that these minutes should be

presented to the king and the late ministry, and committed to the press."

The courage of the Parisians was answerable to the firmness of the national assembly. By the accession of the French guards, they had obtained a supply of arms and ammunition, and a considerable train of artillery; the shops of the armourers were ransacked for weapons, and the soldier-citizens were even trained to some appearance of discipline. The night of the 13th passed without any event of consequence: the morning discovered that, taking advantage of the darkness, the troops encamped in the Champs Elysees had moved off. The people, however, were ignorant of the causes of this removal, and an immediate attack was expected. The national guard, for that was the name which the mixed band of soldiers and citizens now assumed, amounted to the number of 150,000 men; but the majority were still without arms. The marquis de la Salle was named commander in chief; the green cockade, which they had at first adopted, was changed for the since famous national colours red, blue and white; the new army was now more regularly officered; and various deputations were dispatched in quest of arms and implements of war. M. de Fleffelles, the prevot des merchants (or mayor) made many promises on this subject; but they all proved, like every part of his conduct, delusive.

In the course of their inquiries after arms, a party of more than 30,000, conducted by M. Ethis de Corny, repaired to the Hotel des Invalids. M. Sombreuil, the governor, had received orders so early as on Sunday the 12th to hold himself in readiness for an attack, and his men had remained during the whole of Monday under arms, and on the morning of Tuesday he permitted them to take a few hours rest. At this moment M. de Corny arrived; and, on making known to the governor the object of his mission, he was answered, that the invalids
had

had not any arms. M. Corny was re-conducted by M. Sombreuil to the gate; but it was no sooner opened than the multitude rushed in, in an irresistible torrent, and in a few minutes ransacked every part of the hotel. More than 30,000 muskets, and twenty pieces of cannon, were the fruit of this expedition: On the opposite side of the Seine a similar event occurred; there another party attacked the *garde meuble de la couronne*, and from that ancient store an immense number of weapons of different kinds were produced.

It has been generally believed that the taking of the Bastille was the preconcerted effort of reviving liberty; but this was really not the case. Some of the most important actions which have been achieved by courage or activity, have in their origin been directed by that imperceptible chain of events which human blindness terms accident or chance. Like the *Hotel des Invalides*, the Bastille had from the first moment of the alarm in Paris been put in a state of defence. Fifteen pieces of cannon were mounted on the towers; and three field-pieces, loaded with grape and case shot, guarded the first gate. An immense quantity of powder and military stores had been brought from the arsenal, and distributed to the different corps; the mortars had been exercised, the draw-bridges and gates strengthened and repaired, the house of the governor himself was fortified, and guarded by light pieces of artillery. The shortness of the time had not permitted him to be equally provident in laying in a sufficient store of provisions. The forces which the fortrefs included were chiefly foreigners. On the morning of the 14th, several deputies had waited on the marquis de Launay, the governor, to demand arms and peace: they were courteously received by him, and he gave them the strongest assurances of his good intentions. Indeed it is said that he was himself averse to hostile measures, had he not been seduced by the perfidious
councils

counfels of the ſieur Louis de Flue, commander of the Swiſs guards, by the orders of the baron de Bezenval, and by the promiſes of M. de Fleſſelles. The Swiſs ſoldiers had even been engaged by an oath to fire on the invalids who were in the fortrefs, if they refuſed to obey the governor; and the invalids themſelves, it is ſaid, were intoxicated with a profuſion of liquor which had been diſtributed among them.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning, M. de la Roſiere, a deputy of the diſtrict of St. Louis de la Culture, waited on the governor, and the people remained in the outer court. "I come, Sir," ſaid the deputy, "in the name of the nation, to repreſent to you, that the cannon which are levelled againſt the city from the towers of the Baſtille have excited the moſt alarming apprehenſions, and I muſt entreat that you will remove them." The governor replied, "that it was not in his power to remove the guns, as they had always been there, without an order from the king; that he would, however, diſmount them, and turn them out of their embrafures." The deputy having with difficulty obtained leave from M. de Loſme, major of the fortrefs, to enter into the interior court, ſummoned the officers and ſoldiers in the name of honour and their country to alter the direction of the guns, &c. and the whole of them, at the deſire even of the governor, engaged themſelves by oath to make no uſe of their arms, unleſs attacked. M. de la Roſiere, after having aſcended one of the towers with M. de Launay, went out of the caſtle, promiſing to engage the citizens to ſend a part of the national guard to do the duty of the Baſtille in conjunction with the troops.

The deputy had ſcarcely retired before a number of citizens approached the gate, and demanded arms and ammunition. As the majority of them were unarmed, and announced no hoſtile intention, M. de Launay made no difficulty of receiving them, and lowered the firſt drawbridge

drawbridge to admit them. The more determined of the party advanced to acquaint him with the object of their mission; but they had scarcely entered the first court, than the bridge was drawn up, and a general discharge of musquetry destroyed the greater part of these unfortunate people.

The motives of the governor for this apparent act of perfidy have never been explained, and it cannot be sufficiently regretted that the intemperate vengeance of the populace did not allow him to enter on his defence before some impartial court. All, therefore, that can be said at present is, that its immediate effect was to raise the resentment of the people almost to phrensy. The instantaneous determination was to storm the fortress, and the execution was as vigorous as the resolution was daring. An immense multitude, armed with musquets, sabres, &c. rushed at once into the outer court. After searching in vain for the keys of the drawbridges in the corps-de-garde, he called out for a hatchet; he soon broke the locks and the bolts; and being seconded by the efforts of the people on the other side, the two drawbridges were immediately lowered. The people lost no time in making good their station, where for more than an hour they sustained a most severe fire from the garrison, and answered it with equal vigour.

During the contest, several deputations from the Hotel de Ville appeared before the walls with flags of truce, intending to persuade the besieged into a peaceful surrender; but either they were not discovered amidst the general confusion, or, what is more probable, M. de Launay despaired of finding mercy at the hands of the populace, and still flattered himself with some delusive hope of deliverance. The guards, who now acted openly with the people, proved of essential service; and, by the advice of some of the veterans of this corps, three waggons loaded with straw were set on fire under the walls, the
 smoke

smoke of which interrupted the view, and consequently intercepted the aim of the besieged; while the assailants, being at a greater distance, were able to direct their fire to the battlements with unerring aim. In the mean time the arsenal was stormed, and a most dreadful havoc was prevented there by the prudence and courage of M. Humbert, who first mounted the towers of the Bastille. A hair-dresser was in the very act of setting fire to the magazine of powder, when M. Humbert, whose notice was attracted by the cries of a woman, knocked the desperado down with the butt end of his musquet; next, instantly seizing a barrel of salt-petre which had already caught fire, and turning it upside down, he was happy enough to extinguish it.

Nothing could equal the ardour and spirit of the besiegers; an immense crowd, as if unconscious of danger, filled the courts of the fortrefs in spite of the unremitting fire of the garrison, and even approached so near the towers, that M. de Launay himself frequently rolled large masses of stone from the platform upon their heads. Within, all was confusion and terror; the officers themselves served at the guns, and discharged their firelocks in the ranks. But when the governor saw the assailants take possession of the first bridge, and draw up their cannon against the second, his courage then was changed into despair, and even his understanding appeared to be deranged. He rashly sought to bury himself under the enormous mass which he had in vain attempted to defend. While a turnkey was engaged in distributing wine to the soldiers, he caught the match from one of the pieces of cannon, and ran to the magazine with an intention to set it on fire; but a subaltern of the name of Ferrand repulsed him with his bayonet. He then went down to the tour de la liberte, where he had deposited a quantity of powder; but here also he was opposed by the sieur Beguard, another subaltern officer, who thus prevented

an act of insanity which must have destroyed thousands of citizens, and with the Bastille, would have infallibly blown up all the adjacent buildings, and a considerable part of the suburb of St. Antoine. De Launay at length proposed seriously to the garrison to blow up the fortress, as it was impossible that they could hope for mercy from the mob. But he was answered by the soldiers, that they would rather perish than destroy in this insidious manner such a number of their fellow-citizens. He then hung out a white flag, intimating his desire to capitulate; and a Swiss officer would have addressed the assailants through one of the loop-holes of the draw-bridge; but the hour was past, and the exasperated populace would attend to no offers or capitulation. Through the same opening he next displayed a paper, which the distance prevented the besiegers from reading. A person brought a plank, which was rested on a parapet, and poised by a number of others. The brave unknown advanced upon the plank; but just as he was ready to seize upon the paper, he received a musquet shot, and fell into the ditch. He was followed by a young man of the name of Maillard, son to an officer of the chatelet, who was fortunate enough to reach the paper, the contents of which were—"We have twenty thousand pounds weight of gunpowder, and will blow up the garrison and all its environs, if you do not accept the capitulation."—M. Elie, an officer of the queen's regiment, who was invested with a kind of spontaneous authority, was for agreeing to terms, but the people indignantly rejected the very word capitulation, and immediately drew up to the spot three pieces of artillery.

The enemy now perceiving that the great bridge was going to be attacked, let down the small draw-bridge, which was to the left of the entrance into the fortress. Messrs. Elie, Hulin, Maillard, Reole, Humbert, Tournay,

nay, and some others, leaped instantly on the bridge, and, securing the bolts, proceeded to the door. In the mean time the French guards, preserving their habitual coolness and discipline, formed a column on the other side of the bridge, to prevent the citizens from rushing upon it in too great numbers. An invalid came to open the gate behind the drawbridge, and asked the invaders what they wanted? "The surrender of the Bastille;" they cried, and he permitted them to enter. The conquerors immediately lowered the great bridge; and the multitude entered without resistance—the invalids were ranged to the right, and the Swiss on the left hand, with their arms piled against the wall. They took off their hats, clapped their hands, and cried out *Bravo!* as the besiegers entered. The first moments of this meeting passed in peace and reconciliation; but some soldiers on the platforms, ignorant of the surrender, unhappily fired upon the people; who, suspecting a second act of perfidy, fell upon the invalids, two of whom, the unfortunate Beguard, who had prevented the governor from blowing up the Bastille, and another equally innocent were dragged to the *Place de Greve*, and hanged*.

The sieurs Maillard, Cholot, Arne, and some others, dispute the honour of having first seized M. de Launay. He was not in a uniform, but in a plain grey frock: he had a cane in his hand, and would have killed himself with the sword that it contained, but the grenadier, Arne wrested it out of his hand, He was escorted by Messrs.

* This was the first instance of that rash and sanguinary spirit which has since disgraced the French nation in the eyes of all Europe. It is a singular fact, that the French have as yet no clear ideas of the administration of justice. Some time previous to the Revolution, an American gentleman who resided in Paris in a public capacity, observing the rising spirit of liberty among the people, remarked, "that they would obtain every blessing of a free government but the *trial by jury*;" "for that," added he, "they are not prepared."

Hulin, Arne, Legris, Elie, and some others, and every effort was exerted by these patriots to save his life, but in vain :—they had scarcely arrived at the Hotel de Ville before his defenders were overpowered, and even wounded by the enraged populace, and he fell under a thousand wounds. M. de Losme Salbrai, his major, a gentleman distinguished for his virtues and his humanity, was also the victim of the popular fury. The Marquis de Pelleport, who had been five years in the Bastille, and during that time had been treated by him with particular kindness, interposed to save him at the risk of his life, but was struck down by a hatchet, and M. de Losme was instantly put to death. The heads of the governor and the major were struck off, and carried on pikes through the streets of the city. The rage of the populace would not have ended here—the invalids who defended the fortrefs would all have been sacrificed, had not the humanity of the French guards interposed, and insisted on their pardon.

The keys of the Bastille were carried to M. Brissot de Warville, who had been a few years before an inhabitant of these caverns of despotism; and a guard of three thousand men was appointed over the fortrefs till the council at the Hotel de Ville should decree its demolition. In the intoxication of success the prisoners were forgotten; and as the keys had been carried to Paris, the dungeons were forced open—seven prisoner only were found, three of whom had lost their reason, having been detained there as state-prisoners from the reign of Louis XV.

Thus, by the irresistible enthusiasm of liberty, in a few hours was reduced that fortrefs which mercenary armies had considered as impregnable, and which had been in vain besieged by the force of the great Conde for upwards of three weeks.

The fate of M. de Launay involved that of M. de Flesselles, the prevot des marchand. He had long been suspected of a design to betray the people; and all his
actions

actions indeed apparently tended to that point. In the pocket of M. de Launay a letter from him was said to be discovered, which contained these remarkable words—“ I will amuse the Parisians with cockades and promises. Keep your station till the evening—you shall then have a reinforcement.” At the sight of this letter the unfortunate de Fleffelles was struck dumb. A voice was heard in the hall—“ Begone, M. de Fleffelles, you are a traitor.” “ I see, said he, “ gentlemen, that I am not agreeable to you—I shall retire.”—He hastened down the stairs; but as he crossed the Greve, accompanied by a number of persons to defend him, a young man, who had waited an opportunity, shot him with a pistol. His head was cut off, placed on a pike, and carried through the streets along with that of M. de Launay.

A tumultuous night succeeded this wonderful day; and the songs of joy and triumph which had celebrated the victory of the people, were converted into confused murmurs expressive only of anxiety and alarm. A report was spread that the troops were about to enter the city at the Barrier d'Enfer: thither the citizens crowded under the conduct of the French guards, and preceded by a train of artillery, the body of troops, however, that appeared in that quarter were dispersed by a single volley. The alarm-bells were then sounded; barricadoes were formed at the barriers; deep holes were dug in different parts, to prevent the approach of the cavalry; the tops of the houses were manned; a general illumination was ordered; and the silence of the night was interrupted by discharges of artillery, and by the warning voice of the patrole—“ Citizens, do not go to bed; take care of your lights; we must see clearly this night.”

The first news of the taking of the Bastile was regarded by the court as an imposture of the popular party*: it was,

* The following pleasant dialogue on this occasion, is given as genuine in the entertaining letters of Miss Helen Maria Williams. The minister was we have heard the baron de Breteuil.

† A French

was, however, at length irresistible confirmed. The first resolves of the ministry are said to have been desperate, and orders were issued to the commanders to push the projected movements with all possible vigour. In the dead of the night, marshal Broglio is said to have arrived

‘ A French gentleman, remarkable for his taciturnity and sang-froid, things that seldom enter into the composition of a Frenchman, had occasion to go from Paris to Versailles on that morning, in order to have a conference with the minister upon some private business. He found two of the ministers together; and when the particular object of his visit was discussed, one of the ministers said to him with a careless air, “ Well, sir, are there still tumults at Paris ? ”

“ The people talk of going to the garde-de-meubles,” replied the gentleman.

“ The garde-de-meubles ! ” repeated the minister : “ what, the king’s garde-de-meubles ? ”

“ Yes, and they have already been at the Hotel des Invalides.”

“ And for what purpose ? ” said the minister, with increasing surprise.

“ They seized upon all the arms,” resumed the gentleman, preserving his usual sang-froid; “ and if a man has two fufecs, he gives one to his neighbour.”

“ Well, said the minister, shrugging up his shoulders, and what did they do next ? ”

“ Why, I believe,” said the gentlemen, “ they then went to the district.”

“ The district ! ” exclaimed the minister : “ pray what is the district ? ”

“ An invention of yesterday,” replied the gentleman : the people have also another invention of the same date, I believe, which they call a permanent committee, and they have now got cannon ? ”

“ Cannon ! ” repeated the minister ; “ and pray what do they propose to do with cannon ? ”

“ Why they talk of taking the Bastille.”

“ Very good !—excellent ! ” said the minister, bursting into a violent fit of laughter : “ this is really a pleasant conceit enough. And pray who is the head of this rabble ? ”

“ I really do not know,” said the gentleman, coldly, but all the people in Paris seem to be of the same mind.”

“ Well,” said the minister turning to his colleague, “ I think we had better not mention these disagreeable matters to the king.”

Notwithstanding this precaution, however, the king a few hours after was let into the whole secret.

to inform them that it was impossible to obey the mandate he had received of investing the hall of the national assembly with a train of artillery, as the soldiers would not comply with his orders. "Press then the siege of Paris," was the answer. The general replied, he could not depend on the army for the execution of that project.

The king was the only person in the palace who was kept totally ignorant of these transactions. The duke de Liancourt, a distinguished patriot, who was then master of the wardrobe, prevented the bloodshed which was apprehended: he forced his way in the middle of the night into the king's apartment, informed him of every circumstance, and announced to the count d'Artois that a price was set upon his head. The intelligence of the duke was supported by the authority of Monsieur, who accompanied him, and the king was immediately convinced that he had been deceived by evil counsels. Early the next morning the monarch appeared in the assembly, but without the pomp and parade of despotism. His addresses were affectionate and conciliatory. He lamented the disturbances at Paris; disavowed all consciousness of any meditated attack on the persons of the deputies; and added, that he had issued orders for the immediate removal of the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis. It is impossible to express the feelings of the assembly on this affecting occasion. The tear of sympathy started into almost every eye. An expressive silence first pervaded the assembly, which was presently succeeded by a burst of applause and acclamation. The king rose to return to the palace; and the deputies, by a sudden impulse, formed a train of loyalty, in which all distinction of orders was forgotten, and accompanied him to the royal apartments. The joy became general throughout Versailles; the people flocked to the palace, where the queen, with the dauphin in her arms, shewed herself from a balcony. The music in the mean time played the pathetic air, *Ou peut-on*

on etre mieux qu'au sein de sa famille, which was only interrupted by shouts of loyalty, and acclamations of joy. On their return to the hall, the assembly appointed a deputation to convey this happy intelligence to the metropolis.

C H A P. III.

State of Paris after the capture of the Bastille—Nomination of M. M. Bailly and La Fayette to the offices of mayor of Paris, and commander in chief of the national guard—Te Deum sung at Paris in celebration of the taking of the Bastille—M. Neckar recalled—The king visits Paris—Dispersion of the ministry—Murder of M. M. Foulon and Berthier—Revolt in the provinces—Affair of Quincy—Persecution of the nobility—Private correspondence held sacred—Triumphant return of M. Neckar—Unpopular act of the electors of Paris—Outrages in the provinces—Abolition of the feudal system, &c.—Projected loans—Riot at Paris—Organization of the municipality and militia of the metropolis—Debates on the king's veto—On the permanence of the legislature—On two chambers—New scheme of Finance—Dreadful insurrection of the 5th of October—The royal family remove from Versailles to Paris.

PARIS, which had been an unhappy scene of commotion, of terror, and of bloodshed, from the 12th of July, began on the 15th to assume some appearance of order and tranquility. The livid and bloody heads were still carried about the streets as trophies of popular vengeance: but on the morning of that day a sensible citizen persuaded the multitude to listen to the voice of humanity,

nity, and they were thrown into the Seine. The Electors at the Hotel de Ville laboured incessantly in the organization of the civil establishment, and in the regulation of the city militia. The odious name of Prevot was abolished; the more ancient and honourable appellation of Mayor was substituted in its place; and to this office M. Bailly, who had been president of the tiers etat, was called by the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens.

In our detail of the late proceedings of the national assembly, we omitted to notice, that the duc d'Orleans, having been elected president of that body, had declined the honour, and that the venerable archbishop of Vienne had been chosen in his room. During the laborious sessions which succeeded the disgrace of M. Neckar, however, it was thought that his age and infirmities would scarcely allow him to exercise so difficult an office without the assistance of a younger person; and the marquis de la Fayette was unanimously nominated vice-president. A further distinction now awaited the disciple of Washington; and his services to the state, his disinterested patriotism, and his abilities, pointed him out to the citizens as the only man fit to be entrusted with the important commission of general and commander in chief of the national guard.

The troops which had assembled on the Champ de Mars, had decamped during the night, leaving their tents and the greater part of their baggage behind them; but a spectacle still more interesting to the citizens soon presented itself:—this was a deputation of eighty-four of the most distinguished members of the national assembly, accompanied by an immense crowd, who covered the road from Versailles to the capital, and loaded them with blessings and the most unequivocal proofs of prodigal affection. On their arrival at the Hotel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette, count Lally Tolendal, the marquis Clermont Tonnerre, the duc de Laincourt, and the
archbishop

archbishop of Paris, addressed the people.—From this place they adjourned to the church of Notre Dame, where *Te Deum* was sung in celebration of the happy and cheerful return of peace accompanied with liberty. As they returned from the church, the acclamations of the populace were occasionally interrupted by the expression of two further demands, the wish of seeing their sovereign in Paris, and the recal of the patriotic ministry. The deputies returned in the evening to Versailles.

Public tranquillity, however, when interrupted by circumstances of such importance as those we have just related, is not so easily restored. It was natural that the people should be jealous for their newly acquired liberties, and should view with suspicion transactions which in their intention were probably innocent. The ministry, which had shewn themselves so inimical to the cause of the people, were not yet dismissed, nor had the troops yet evacuated the environs of Paris; two fresh regiments had arrived at St. Dennis; a strange and unsuccessful attack had even been made on the Bastille, by a serjeant and two companies of guards; and a convoy of flour had been intercepted by the orders of a person well known. The night of the 15th, therefore, was spent with the same anxiety, and with the same warlike preparations, as the preceding; and in the morning a fresh deputation was sent to the assembly, entreating them to interest themselves in procuring the dismissal of the ministry, and the recal of M. Neckar.

After a short debate, which chiefly respected the decorum of interfering with the appointments of the executive power, the assembly were on the point of voting a spirited address to the king, which had been proposed by Mirabeau, when they were informed that the Ministers themselves had anticipated the wish of the assembly by giving in their resignations. The same evening, a letter from his majesty to M. Neckar, inviting him to return, was read

by the president. It was received with the loudest acclamations, and was seconded by an address from the assembly themselves to that upright minister in the strongest terms of affection and respect. The king having at the same time intimated his intention of visiting Paris the following day, the assembly immediately decreed a deputation to convey this exhilarating intelligence, and to calm the disquietude that prevailed in the metropolis.

It was not without consternation that the king's determination to visit Paris was received at the palace of Versailles. Those who really loved him were apprehensive for his safety; those who had been guilty of malversation were apprehensive for themselves. Rumours of projected assassinations were spread, and the least consequence that could ensue was supposed to be the detention of the sovereign in Paris. The king however, with a degree of courage and patriotism which does honour to his character, remained immovable in his determination. On the morning of the 17th he left Versailles, in a plain dress, and with no other equipage than two carriages with eight horses each; in the first of which he rode himself—a part of the national assembly, in their robes, accompanied him on foot; and the militia of Versailles composed his only guard till the procession arrived at the Seine, where they were relieved by the Paris militia, with the marquis de la Fayette at their head; and from this place the suite of the monarch amounted to about 20,000 men. The horse guards led the procession; and these were followed by the city cavalry: some battalions of the French guards and other soldiers, who had fought in defence of the nation, succeeded; then the different companies and corporations; and M. de la Fayette, with a large body of militia, brought up the rear. A quarter of an hour before the arrival of the king, whether from accident or malevolence is uncertain, a woman was shot by a musket-ball, from the opposite side of the river. The king looked pale and melancholy,

melancholy, and an expression of anxiety was even apparent in the faces of the national assembly. The progress was remarkably slow; and no shout was to be heard but *Vive la Nation!* At the Barriere des Conferences, the king was met by M. Bailly, who acted as mayor, with the other magistrates.—M. Bailly, on presenting the keys of the city, addressed his majesty in a short but elegant speech, the exordium of which was—“These, sir, are the keys which were presented to Henry IV. He came to reconquer his people: it is our happiness to have reconquered our king.” At the Pont Neuf the passage was lined with a numerous train of artillery; but, in the true spirit of French gallantry, the mouths and touch-holes of the cannon were adorned with bouquets of flowers. On their arrival at the Hotel de Ville, the king solemnly confirmed the election of M. Bailly, and the marquis de la Fayette; and on receiving the complimentary addresses of the mayor, the president of electors, count Lally Tolland, &c. he exclaimed with an air of pathetic emotion, which scarcely allowed him utterance—“My people may always rely upon my affection.” He received from the hands of the mayor the national cockade; and when he shewed himself at the window with his badge of patriotism, the joy of the people could no longer be restrained; the shout of *Vive le roi!* which had scarcely been heard in the former part of the day, filled the whole atmosphere; and resounded from one extremity of the city to the other. The return of the king to Versailles was a real triumph. The citizens, almost intoxicated with joy, surrounded his carriage; his countenance, which in the morning bore the aspect of melancholy, was now cheerful and smiling; and he appeared sincerely to partake in the general satisfaction.

The royal visit to Paris was the signal for the dispersion of the ministry. Marshal Broglio retired to Luxembourg; madame Polignac, in the habit of waiting-woman, took

the route of Brussels; even the count d'Artois, with his family, withdrew during the stillness of the night, and was followed by the princes of Conde and Conti, the duke de Luxembourg, and others of the nobility. But of all who were connected with the court, none was more odious than M. Foulon, who had long been obnoxious to the people for his unfeeling tyranny and his insatiable avarice. This unfortunate person had risen from a very low situation in life to the possession of immense riches. He had been commissary to the army in the war of 1755, and by his rapacity and extortions is said to have irretrievably dishonoured the French name in the provinces of Germany. He is reported to have made a common boast of his depraved principles.—His favourite maxim was, that “that country would be best governed, where the common people should be compelled to feed upon grass;” and he had boasted, “that if ever it should be his good fortune to be minister, he would make the people live upon hay.” On the first news of the riots in Paris he had withdrawn himself from the public eye, and had caused a report of his death to be industriously circulated, and his funeral had even been performed in a manner suitable to his immense riches. In the mean time he had secretly retired to Very, an estate belonging to M. de Sartines, where he was in hopes of remaining concealed: but his character commanded no man's affection, and the general unfeelingness of his heart left him without a friend. His own vassals were the first to pursue and detect him; and on the 22d of July he was brought to Paris with a bundle of hay at his back, in allusion to the language which he is said to have employed in expressing his contempt for the people. The committee at the Hotel de Ville determined to send him to the prison of the abbey St. Germain, where he might be detained till the return of tranquillity should afford him an impartial trial: but the immense crowd which was assembled in the Place de Greve

Greve resisted this determination. It was with difficulty M. Bailly could make himself heard, when he urged with all the eloquence of humanity the flagrant injustice of condemning a citizen to death without hearing him in his own defence.—The marquis de la Fayette took still more popular ground by urging the detention of the criminal, in the hope of obtaining from him a discovery of his accomplices. To this demand the populace appeared to assent by their tokens of applause: but the unhappy Foulon, whether in testimony of his innocence, or by a mechanical movement, clapped his hands at the same time in approbation. A general exclamation was immediately raised:—"They are conniving at his guilt; they intend to save him*." He was immediately seized, and dragged under the fatal lamp-iron, which during the revolution the populace had employed as the instrument of their vengeance. Every circumstance of horror attended his execution: the rope, by which he was suspended, broke twice; and he was detained for a quarter of an hour in a half-expiring state, before a new one could be procured. His head was cut off and placed upon a pike, with the mouth stuffed with hay, and was carried through the streets of Paris. This victim of popular fury was seventy-four years of age.

M. Berthier, who had married the daughter of M. Foulon, was implicated in the fate of his father-in-law, and was perhaps odious to the people from the exercise of an arbitrary and oppressive employment, that of intendant of police. He had been seized at Compiègne, and one of the electors, with four hundred horse, had been dispatched to conduct him to Paris. He also was accused of peculation and extortion, of being the principal

* The suspicious temper of the French, more than any one circumstance, has continued to undo them. The habits of finesse and intrigue which a despotic government naturally produces are always attended with habitual suspicion.

agent in regulating the movements of the camp at St. Denis, and of the still more unpopular crime of speculating in grain, and contributing to the general scarcity. Unhappily for him, he arrived in Paris the very evening in which the populace had imbrued their hands in the blood of his relations; his death was therefore inevitable. If, however, he did not suffer innocently, he at least sustained his unhappy fate with courage and dignity. During the greater part of the way he conversed tranquilly with M. Riviere, the elector who accompanied him. When he entered the city, however, the bloody head of his father-in-law was presented to him, and at this dreadful sight he is said to have turned pale, and have lost his fortitude. When interrogated at the Hotel de Ville as to his conduct, he answered calmly: "That he had obeyed the orders of his superiors, and that the inspection of his papers would instruct them as to the extent of his guilt." It was determined to send him immediately to the Abbey; but it was impossible to penetrate the concourse of people that surrounded the Hotel. It was in vain that M. Bailly opposed his utmost eloquence to the fury of the multitude; in vain the commander in chief prostrated himself on his knees to entreat the popular cause should no more be defiled with blood. Numerous as this escort was, they were soon dispersed, and he was dragged to the fatal lamp-iron, where a new cord was already prepared for him. His despair inspired him with new courage; and snatching a bayonet out of the hands of one of the guards, he attempted to defend himself, if not from death, at least from ignominy.—He fell pierced with innumerable wounds.—A monster of inhumanity, a dragoon, plunged his hands into his reeking intrails, and, tearing out his heart, and fixing it on the point of his cut-throat, carried it about as a trophy through the streets. The head was also cut off, and carried about with that of M. Foulon.

It

It is said that the dragoon, who in this brutal manner tore out the heart of M. Berthier, did it in revenge for the death of a father: be that as it may, his comrades were so completely disgusted with the barbarity of the action, that they determined to fight him successively till by his death they had removed the dishonour it had fixed upon their corps. He fought, and was killed the same evening.

To apologize for such an action would be in some degree to partake of the criminality. Wretched is the fate of that nation which is obliged to employ the agency of a mob to counteract the usurpation of tyranny. If, however, we candidly consider the grievances and oppressions under which the people of France had for centuries languished; if we consider the licentiousness inherent in the canaille of a populous city, and how prone human nature is to the abuse of power; if we recollect the individual provocations and injuries which men suffer from persons high in office under an arbitrary government, the atrocity will at least be explained if not extenuated. In justice also to the insurgents of Paris, it must be recorded that while, under the mistaken sentiment of revenging the oppressions of their government, they involved themselves in the guilt of murder, they were still superior to such a crime as theft. The bodies of the marquis de Launay and of the major of the Bastille lay exposed in the Place de Greve for a number of hours, and neither their watches or any one of their valuables were even touched by the mob; and when M. Foulon was massacred, his pockets were full of money and bank-notes which were taken carefully out by some of the multitude, and deposit before the committee on the table of the Hotel de Ville. On what foundation we cannot pretend to say, but it has been advanced by the popular party, that with respect to M. Foulon and Berthier, the people were made the blind instruments of private enmity, or of their accomplices

plices themselves ; who probably saw no other means of concealing the atrociousness of their own conduct from public enquiry. From the windows of the Hotel de Ville a number of persons of superior appearance were observed exciting the populace to outrage, and who appeared to be the main spring of all their motions. These could scarcely be friends to the popular cause, since nothing could involve it in such disgrace as the perpetration of these barbarities.

This day of horror and of blood filled indeed every good citizen with disgust and apprehension ; they trembled lest they should have only one tyranny for another, and condemned in the strongest terms these guests of inhumanity, these bloody proscriptions, these outrages against public justice. The marquis de la Fayette in particular was so much exasperated by this contempt of all authority, that he determined at once to resign his office as commander in chief : happily, the eloquence of M. Bailly had sufficient influence to prevail with him to resume it.

The example of the capital gave the signal for revolt in all the provinces ; and it was no sooner promulgated that a conspiracy had been formed against the liberties of the nation, than all the citizens became soldiers, and all the soldiers citizens.

At Rennes, the capital of Britany, the young men took up arms about the 20th of July, seized the arsenal, and the principal posts, and raised at once the standard of liberty. The count de Langeron, who commanded there, marched out against them, at the head of the regiment d'Artois and Lorraine, and the dragoons d'Orleans : but the soldiers were no sooner drawn up in order of battle than they unanimously shouted *Vive la nation !* Eight hundred immediately joined the patriotic standard, and the rest returned to their barracks, after having taken a solemn oath not to stain their hands in
the

he blood of their fellow citizens. In the mean time the principal people being assembled at the Hotel de Ville, they decreed the suspension of all levies and contributions on the part of the king or the feudal lords; deputations were sent to every town in Britany; the whole province was presently in arms to support the public cause; and all declared themselves ready to march, if necessary, to the relief of the national assembly. The commanding officer, finding all his efforts in vain, retired from the province.

At St. Malo, the younger citizens determined to form two divisions, one of horse, and the other of foot, and to proceed immediately to the national assembly, and participate with them the danger or the glory of saving their country. As they were without artillery, their first step was to take possession of the city fort, and that of the Chateau Neuf, in order to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition. The commandant reinforced each of the fortresses, but in vain; the soldiers declared they would not act, and the citizens by some stratagem got possession of the keys. It is pleasing to add, that they made the happiest use of their success; they resisted the revengeful impulse which would lead them to punish the obstinacy of the king's lieutenant, and respected human life even in an enemy.

The city of Bourdeaux has been always distinguished by its attachment to liberty. On the fatal night of St. Bartholomew, the chief magistrate of this city was among the few who contended for the rights of humanity in opposition to the blind dictates of fanaticism. On the present occasion, the members of the parliament enrolled themselves voluntarily in the city militia, and mounted guard along with the other inhabitants; and the governor of the castle, animated by a similar spirit, presented the keys to a deputation of citizens. A statue of M. Necker was elevated on a pedestal hastily erected for the purpose, and was crowned with a garland of laurel.

The

The duke de Liancourt succeeded the archbishop of Vienne as president of the national assembly. One of the first circumstances which signalized his presidency, was the permission which was granted by the king to the French guards to enrol themselves among the national militia: in the mean time, addresses expressive of the highest degree of patriotism and confidence, poured in upon the assembly from all parts of the kingdom; and there appeared no visible obstruction to the consummation of its patriotic labours.

The task; however, was not quite so easy as at first sight we might be disposed to conclude: besides the enmity of those who subsisted by the corruptions of the former government, the assembly had to contend with other difficulties, and the approach of famine was not the least calamity with which the nation was threatened.

The hasty exile of M. Neckar had frustrated the plans which he had laid for the acquisition of subsistence. An actual scarcity took place; the granaries and magazines were pillaged; and bands of ruffians were dispersed over the country, and increased the scarcity by their desperate ravages. The enemies of the revolution took advantage of this state of things, to disturb and agitate the popular mind by alarming reports. It was even believed that they monopolized the grain themselves, in order to cast an odium on their opposers. Among the riots excited upon these occasions none were more disgraceful than those at St. Germain and Poissy; to the latter of which a deputation was sent from the national assembly, with the humane bishop of Chartres at their head. They arrived just time enough to save an innocent person of the name of Thomassin, though the fatal cord was already round his neck.

These proceedings, joined with the affair of M. Foulon, determined the assembly on the 23d of July to publish a proclamation, inviting all good citizens to the maintenance

ance of order and government; and declaring that to try and punish for all crimes of *leze-nation* was the sole prerogative of the assembly, till, by the constitution which it was about to establish a regular tribunal should be instituted for the punishment of such offences.

On the 25th the assembly was thrown into the utmost consternation by the report of M. Punelle, one of the deputies of Franche-Comte, who related that M. de Melmay, a councillor to the parliament of Besancon and lord of Quincey, had invited the people of his neighbourhood, and the officers of the garrison of Vesoul, to celebrate, at his castle of Quincey, the happy union of the three orders of the state. The entertainment was sumptuous, and the best wines were distributed with a liberal hand; but amidst this scene of festivity the company were at once dispersed by a dreadful explosion of gunpowder, and some persons were even killed upon the spot.

It is easy to conceive the horror and indignation which such a representation must inspire. The president of the assembly was instantly directed to wait upon the king, to request that the transaction might be immediately enquired into; and he was further requested to give orders to his minister for foreign affairs, to claim any of the parties who might have taken refuge in foreign countries.

It was some time before the matter could be investigated, nor has it ever been cleared up to general satisfaction. The best account that has been given of it is, that three drunken soldiers having gone to sleep in the pavilion, and having procured a light, a barrel of gunpowder, which was kept there, accidentally exploded, and the soldiers, and they only, fell the victims of their indiscretion.

Unfounded, however, as these reports concerning M. Melmay may appear, to have been, their effects were more or less felt by all the nobility of France. The populace of the neighbourhood would have immediately pulled
down

down the castle of Quincey, but were prevented by the militia and citizens of Besancon. In other places, as soon as the report was received, riots were excited, some castles were ransacked, and two or three gentlemen of irreproachable characters lost their lives.

In this period of general distrust, we cannot wonder that even circumstances, trifling in themselves, should produce new troubles. The baron de Castelnau, resident in France from Geneva, was arrested on the Pont Royal; and the moment he was arrested he tore in pieces a letter; but the fragments were carefully collected, and transmitted, with three other open letters found upon him, by M. Bailly to the duke de Lincourt. When the packet arrived there were but few members in the hall, and the delicacy of the president would not permit him to keep open letters in his possession. Considering also that the assembly was invested with no executive power, he thought it his duty to send back the packet to M. Bailly, not doubting but it would be produced when called for. A long and not unimportant discussion of this business ensued. On the one side, it was proposed by the count de Chatenita, M. Reubel, and others, "that all intercepted letters should be deposited in a certain place for the inspection of the committee of the assembly; and that the papers found in the Bastille should be collected, in order to form a history of the crimes of the old government, which would serve as a kind of preface to the constitution." On the other hand, it was urged by M. Camus, "That all the instructions of their constituents had consecrated the inviolability of private correspondence; that the national assembly ought not to set the example of a breach of public faith; and that the only exception ought to regard the correspondence of those persons who are actually in the hands of justice."—The bishop of Langres observed, "that all ages had applauded the generosity of Pompey who committed to the flames the letters which the senators

ators had addressed to Sertorius." M. Duport remarked that the advantages were dubious, and the danger manifest; that the most virtuous citizen, and the greatest men, M. Turgot, had been ruined by a fictitious correspondence." The assembly, much to its honour, decreed, that in such a case there was no room for debate. Thus the sanctity of private correspondence was held to be violated; and in the midst of treasons and conspiracies, while the national assembly was engaged in the great work of establishing liberty, it declared itself above employing or imitating any of the disgraceful resources of pravity.

Among the alarms and reports to which the unsettled state of France at this time gave rise, a very formidable rumour was circulated; That the court of London was disposed to take advantage of the troubles of the nation; that the English fleets in both Indies had already commenced the attack; and that St. Domingo and Pondicherry were already among the number of their conquests. So injurious a calumny could not be overlooked by the ambassador of Great Britain. He wrote immediately to the minister, the count de Montmorin, disclaiming on the part of his court every hostile intention, and, in corroboration of his assertion, appealing to his recollection, that in the beginning of June a plot had been concerted for seizing the port of Brest, by certain persons who aimed the countenance and protection of Great Britain; but that the proposal had been rejected with indignation by the English cabinet, and that he (the duke of Dorset) had immediately apprised the French ministry of the danger.

The letter of the ambassador being read in the assembly, and communicated to the people of Paris, sufficiently quieted every apprehension concerning the interference of Great Britain; and to prevent in future the interruption of the national business, a committee of twelve members

members was immediately appointed to take cognizance of every report or information which respected the public safety.

The consequences of the Duke of Dorset's letter were more serious in the province of Britany. The plot which he had mentioned against Breft was immediately laid on the charge of the nobility; and the enemies of some of that body, who had shewn themselves adverse to the revolution, industriously represented them to the people as criminals. Several were arrested, and confined in the castles of Nantes and St. Malo. The nobility of the province appealed to the justice of the national assembly, and entreated that the duke of Dorset might be required to give more precise documents, that the criminality might no longer be extended to all the ancient families of a respectable quarter of the kingdom, but might attach to those only who were really concerned. The assembly referred the investigation to the executive power; and declared at the same time their opinion, that the evidence appeared so vague and indirect, that the gentlemen ought to be liberated.

A letter from M. Neckar, in answer to the requisition of the assembly, was received on the 27th of July. It was dated Basil, and was expressive of his gratitude and devotion to their commands. Posterity will regard it as an incident more resembling the visions of romance than the occurrences of real life, that the first intimation received of the revolution was from the mouth of the duc de Polignac, his bitterest enemy. M. Neckar had quitted Brussels in the determination of retiring from public life, and forgetting his disgrace and his unsuccessful labours in the peaceful retirement of his estate in the vicinity of Geneva. In his way thither, he arrived at Basil accidentally at the very moment when madame de Polignac, in her precipitate flight, stopped at that city. We may easily conceive his surprize when an interv-

was requested by that lady; but it must have been still greater, when she acquainted him with the amazing revolution of which his exile had been the proximate occasion. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, he determined, without hesitation, to resume his office.—“ I would rather,” said he, “ expose myself to danger than to remorse.” He waited at Basil till he received the orders of the king, and then followed immediately the courier who announced his approach.

As he passed through Villenau, on the road from Nogent to Versailles, he was informed that the baron de Bezenval, commandant of the Swiss guards, who had acted under marshal Broglio, was arrested by the militia of that place, and that his life was in danger. The humanity of M. Neckar was immediately interested, and he wrote in his carriage the following short note to the municipal officers of Villenau.

“ I know to a certainty, gentlemen, that the baron de Bezenval, who has been arrested by the militia of Villenau, had the king’s permission to return to Switzerland, his own country. I entreat, gentlemen, that you will respect this permission, of which I am your guarantee, and I shall consider myself as under a particular obligation. Every motive that impels a feeling mind impels me to make this request, &c.”

Pressing as was this requisition, it was not complied with, as the municipal officers determined, that before the baron should be released, it was proper to consult the permanent committee at the Hotel de Ville.

The passage of M. Neckar through France was more gratifying to the human feelings than the most distinguished triumph of the most celebrated conqueror. He was followed by the acclamations, not of servile multitudes, but of a free people; who saluted him not as their governor, but as their deliverer, their father, their tutelar genius. In Paris the news of his arrival was celebrated like

like that of a splendid victory; and the exultation visible in every countenance evinced, that every Frenchman considered the republic as in safety when committed to his care. On the 29th of July, the day after his return, he repaired to the national assembly, to render his respects to that august body. He was introduced by four gentlemen ushers, and every mark of attention and respect was paid to this martyr to the public cause; this minister, who taught the sovereign to respect the rights of the people, and who instructed the multitude in their duty to the throne. The president complimented him on his arrival in a very elegant address, which, in honour both to the speaker and the minister, was directed to be printed.

Even these testimonies of esteem, however, appear little when compared with the splendour of his reception in Paris; that city, which so much exceeded the rest of the kingdom in wealth, population, and magnificence, exceeded every other part in its zeal for liberty, and its joy on the restoration of its favourite minister. On the morning of the 30th, the day he had appointed for visiting the metropolis, numerous detachments of infantry and cavalry were stationed on the road to Versailles to meet him. He arrived in a coach and four, with M. St. Priest his colleague, who had participated in his principles, and in his disgrace. At half past twelve they reached the Hotel de Ville, amidst the acclamations of thousands.—M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette, with the representatives of the commune, received him in the great hall; where he was complimented by M. Bailly in a strain of eloquence in which dignity was happily blended with simplicity. The speech of M. Neckar, in reply, was distinguished by that pathetic sweetness of expression which marks all his compositions. He expressed his gratitude in modest terms, and informed them that the king had received him in the kindest manner, and assured him of his entire confidence. He observed,

observed, however, that the whole welfare of the state was now placed in their hands, and in those of the national assembly; from this circumstance he took occasion most earnestly to recommend the re-establishment of order and government. He entreated them, in the name of Heaven, that the world should hear no more of proscriptions; no more of such bloody scenes as had so lately been acted. From this topic he passed to the baron de Bezenval, to whose merits, in his station, he bore honourable testimony; and entreated, in the most persuasive terms, that he might be set at liberty. He even went further, and insisted on a general amnesty, as the only measure consistent with their honour, and with the restoration of liberty. The enthusiasm of humanity communicated itself from the orator to the auditors, and an amnesty was unanimously decreed by the general assembly of the electors of Paris.

That the assembly of electors in this instance transgressed the powers vested in them cannot be doubted; and unfortunately too many were interested both in the repeal of the amnesty, and in lowering the consequence of the elective body, to permit such an act to pass without animadversion. It was scarcely made known before the sixty districts of Paris were in the most violent agitation. They exclaimed, that the electors delegated for the sole purpose of choosing deputies to the states-general, had assumed new powers, and could only have in view the perpetuating of their own authority. They had indeed, during the moments of popular confusion, submitted to the orders of this body, because some active and directing principle was then wanting; but the present step they considered as trenching on the authority of the national assembly, without precedent, without excuse. The enemies of the minister eagerly grasped the opportunity to lessen him in the public esteem. They insinuated, that he would sacrifice the public welfare to

his own ambition; and that he wished to save the baron de Bezenval, only from a conviction that it would render him particularly agreeable to the court; that the whole of the conspirators would speedily return in triumph, insolently to brave the resentment of the nation, and to vent their cruelty on the defenders of liberty. These injurious insinuations were unhappily too favourably received; the alarm-bells were sounded, the place de Greve re-echoed with frightful menaces, even at the precise time when at the Palais Royal the return of M. Neckar was celebrated with concerts and illuminations. The electors, alarmed, immediately issued a proclamation explanatory of their former resolutions, which, they asserted, implied no assumption of judicial authority to condemn or acquit the enemies of the nation; but was to be understood simply as a declaration that the citizens from that day would punish no man but according to law. They dispatched messengers at the same time to prevent the liberation of Bezenval; and closed all by a formal renunciation of the powers which, they said, only the necessities of the times had compelled them to assume.

These facts were no sooner communicated to the national assembly, than they produced an interesting and important debate among the friends of liberty. Some, in particular Mess. Lally Tolendal, Mounier, Clermont Tonnerre, and Garat the younger, supported the sacred principles of civil liberty, that no person ought to be arrested without a positive accusation. "Let us not be told," said they, "of the popular clamours; if a mere suspicion be called a popular clamour, what citizen can be assured for a moment of that liberty we are seated here to protect*?"

M. Glezien, Robespierre, Mirabeau, and Barnave replied, That the present question was not relative to the

* It would have been happy for France if these sentiments had prevailed.

general principles of civil liberty; that the people had a right to arrest a man who had publicly appeared at the head of their enemies, and who fled the kingdom at the instant when the assembly announced its intention of prosecuting the enemies of the nation. M. Bezenval, they urged, is accused by the voice of the public, if he is innocent, let him be acquitted; if he is guilty, let him be punished. The object at present is to preserve him from the fury of the multitude, to declare him under the safeguard of the law. A legal prosecution only can prevent popular outrage.

The debate concluded in a resolution, "approving of the explanation which the electors had given of their decree; adding, that if a generous nation prohibited proscription, it was still the duty of the representatives to take care that justice should be duly executed; and that, as to the person of the baron de Bezenval, it was to remain in severe custody near the place where he was arrested, he being from that time under the safeguard of the law."

M. de Bezenval had been in the mean time conducted to Brie-Comte-Robert, where he was committed to the castle, which was put in a posture of defence. It was fortunate for him, that the courier dispatched by the assembly to prevent his being brought to Paris used extraordinary diligence. Thirty thousand desperadoes waited for him at the Greve, where a gallows and rope were made ready; and every thing announced the renewal of the horrid scenes which had so lately been acted.

Had he indeed entered the city, no human power could have saved him.

The affair of M. de Bezenval was not the only circumstance which at this tumultuous period outraged the sensibility, and interrupted the proceedings of the national assembly. At St. Dennis, near Paris, a most horrid murder was committed. The sieur Chatel, lieutenant

to the mayor, was charged with the distribution of corn ; and the bread which the bakers offered for sale not proving agreeable to the mob, a riot was excited. The personal enemies of M. Chatel, and others suspected of being disaffected to the new order of things, assiduously mingled in the mob. After a vigorous defence, this unfortunate gentleman escaped to the belfry of the collegiate church ; but was discovered by a child, and pursued immediately by the multitude. There the savages fastening the bell-ropes round his neck, and drawing them different ways, inhumanly strangled him ; and what adds to the atrociousness of the crime is, that he was a gentleman of known worth, and of great humanity ; a friend of liberty, and a patron of the poor.

It is some time before a people can learn to be free. At Caen, in Normandy, disturbances similar to those in Paris took place in a few days after the revolution. The circumstance which gave rise to those fatal broils is said to be as follows : Some soldiers of the regiment d'Artois came either by accident or on business to Caen, and were decorated with medals, as the honourable marks of their devotion to the cause of liberty and their country. Those patriotic soldiers, who were unarmed, were insulted by some dragoons of the regiment of Bourbon, who, after an unequal though bloody combat, robbed them of their medals. The wounded men complained to the citizens ; and the marquis de Belzune, who was major of the dragoons, was accused of having excited his soldiers to this atrocious conduct. The people immediately had recourse to their arms ; the municipal officers, as well as those of the regiment, exerted themselves to prevent the effusion of blood. M. de Belzune protested his innocence, and offered to appear at the Hotel de Ville, where he would render them the most convincing proofs. The regiment, however, did not permit him to proceed, unless they had hostages for his safe return ; which were immediately

immediately given. The unfortunate major bravely delivered himself into the hands of the multitude; and the national guard surrounded him, with a view of conducting him to the citadel, where he might be in safety. In the mean time the marquis de Harcourt, commander in chief of the province, ordered the regiment out of the town; and tranquillity appeared so completely re-established, that the hostages were set at liberty. The regiment was however scarcely out of the boundaries, than the insurrection rekindled; the mob broke in upon the national guard, and murdered the unfortunate marquis de Belzune, with every circumstance of barbarity.

The city of Strasbourg was also the theatre of some bloody scenes. This city, when it became united to France, had preserved its ancient form of government, which was originally democratic, but had degenerated insensibly (as all institutions purely democratic generally will) into an aristocracy. The people, therefore, disgusted with the usurpations of the magistracy, had for a considerable time only waited an opportunity to revolt; and the news of the taking of the Bastille excited an universal ferment. A general illumination took place on the night of the 20th of July; and those houses which did not follow the example, had the windows presently demolished by the populace. The city continued in a state of uproar till the 22d; during which time the magistrates had pacified the more respectable citizens; and all would have been quiet, had not a band of ruffians from the German side of the Rhine, insinuated themselves into the city during the troubles. At about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, the Hotel de Ville was invaded by the *banlitti*, and the succeeding night and morning the city was on fire in several places; the citizens, however, joining with the soldiery, orders were at length given to charge the mob, many of whom were killed by the soldiers, and a few were afterwards executed; the

greater part of whom were foreigners from the other side of the river. The city, however, continued a kind of military discipline till the 6th of August, when another riot ensued from the intemperance of the soldiers; but was quieted by the timely interference of the count de Rochambeau, commander in chief of the province.

Hitherto, in the midst of these disastrous events, the assembly itself preserved a degree of unanimity, from the time the orders became united, which gave a force and dignity to all its proceedings. The latent seeds of disorder, however, germinated within its constitution; and the first appearance of disorder was at the time when a successor was to be chosen to the duke de Liancourt. M. Thouret, a celebrated advocate of Rouen, a distinguished patriot, and a most excellent citizen, was elected by a considerable majority to the president's chair. The scrutiny was no sooner declared, than a considerable party expressed the strongest dissatisfaction, and, it is said, even proceeded to threats. M. Thouret, however, had the magnanimity to decline the high honour that awaited him, and M. Chapellier, one of the deputies of Britany, was elected in his stead.

The assembly had been assiduously employed for some time on the great question of a declaration of the natural rights of men and citizens; and the debates upon this subject were full of ingenious disquisition, and profound moral and political speculation. On the 4th of August, however, this body saw the object of its deliberations take a very different course; and instead of metaphysical discussion and abstract reasoning, it was at once turned to decisive measures, and those the boldest and most interesting, perhaps, that ever distinguished the proceedings of a legislative assembly.

The committee of reports, after having exhibited an affecting picture of the public calamities with which the kingdom was convlled, proposed, as a means of remedying these

these evils, "that the assembly should publish as soon as possible a solemn declaration, intimating its anxiety and concern for the trouble which agitated the provinces, its entire disapprobation of the non-payment of taxes, rents, and other feudal incumbrances; and declaring that till the assembly had passed a decree upon these subjects, there existed no motive to justify such non-payment."

Considerable debates succeeded upon this proposition, and a variety of projects were proposed for extricating the nation from the difficulties and troubles in which it was involved.—At length the viscount de Noailles arose to point out, he said, the only effectual means of restoring peace. "We are called upon, said he, to quiet the troubles, and quell the insurrections, which exist in the country: to do this, we must enquire into the cause of these troubles, and this will lead us to a proper remedy. The communities have made a demand upon us; they have demanded that they should be released from the chains of vassalage, and that the seignorial oppressions should be abolished or changed. For three months the communities have beheld us engaged in verbal disputes, while their own attention and their wishes are directed to things: they are acquainted with only two classes of people, those who now bear arms to assert their liberties, and those higher orders whose interest it is to oppose them—What is the consequence? They are armed to reclaim their rights, and they see no prospect of obtaining their object but by force. Thus the whole kingdom is convulsed; and thus there are no means of restoring tranquillity, but by convincing the people that we are in earnest in their cause, and that we resist them only where it is manifestly for their interest that they should be resisted.

"I propose therefore, 1. That the committee be instructed to propose a declaration, that every TAX shall henceforward be levied in proportion to the income of

each individual. 3. That the burdens of the state be equally borne by every member of the state. 3. That all feudal claims, which are not of a personal nature, shall be redeemable on a fair valuation. 4. That all the claims of the lord, which are of a personal nature, such as personal service, &c. shall cease without any ransom."

This motion was highly applauded, and was seconded by the duke d'Aiguillon in a very able speech. M. le Grand established a most accurate distinction between the different species of feudal rights. "They are," said he, "real, personal, or mixed. The first, such as *main-morte* or vassalage, the *corvees* or right to the labour of the peasant, &c. are vicious in their origin, contrary to the imprescriptible rights of man, and consequently so unjust, that to order them to be ransomed would be an act deserving of the severest censure. With respect to real rights, such as quit-rents, rents, rents in kind, &c. they must not only be made redeemable, but the whole of such claims on any individual must be consolidated, and the valuation made accordingly. Mixed rights, such as the *bannalites* (or compulsion to bake in the landlord's oven, upon paying a toll out of the flour), as they partake of the nature of both the others, ought to be redeemed, but at a more moderate ransom than those claims which are actually real."

M. Guen de Kerengall enumerated several absurd species of feudal claims, many of which cannot even be named without offence to modest ears. By the feudal laws of some cantons, the vassals were subject to be yoked to the carriage of the lord, like beasts of burden; in some the tenants were obliged to pass whole nights in beating the ponds, that his rest might not be disturbed by the croaking of frogs; in others they were compelled to maintain his hounds: but the most dreadful instance of feudal barbarism, was a law, (obsolete indeed for ages) which authorized the lord, in certain districts, on his return

return from hunting, to rip open the bellies of two of his vassals, that he might foment his feet in their warm bowels by way of refreshment.

In fine, the motions of M. de Noailles were approved unanimously; and the disinterested patriotism of the assembly being wound up to the highest pitch, they were followed by other sacrifices truly honourable to the members of the privileged orders. The first of these was *the total abolition of the inferior courts of justice established upon feudal principles* throughout the kingdom, and which were in every respect corrupt and oppressive.

M. Foucault proposed the *immediate suppression of all places and emoluments* granted by the court, except those which were the due rewards of merit and actual services; and this motion also was received with loud applauses.

The president was now proceeding to put these motions to the vote, but he stopped himself by remarking—"That as the clergy had not yet had an opportunity of declaring their sentiments, he should esteem himself guilty of indecorum, if he did not particularly request their opinions upon this interesting discussion."—This invitation brought up the bishop of Nancy, who requested in the name of the clergy, that if the *ransom of the feudal rights should be decreed, it might not be converted to the profit of the ecclesiastical lords, but might be appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings.*

The bishop of Chartres, after approving the sacrifices already made, recommended the *suppression of the game laws.*—He represented in strong terms the absurdity of those impositions which condemned the husbandman to be the patient spectator of the ravage of his field, and exposed him to severe punishment if he presumed to destroy those animals which were most detrimental to his labour.—A number of voices from the nobility concurred in these sentiments, and demanded a renunciation of what
were

were termed the rights of the chase, reserving only to the proprietors of the land the right of sporting within their own demesnes.

The acclamations of the assembly were interrupted by the president de S. Fargeau, who demanded an explanation of the declarations of the nobility and clergy concerning the *equalization of taxes*. "We have given a hope to the people," said he; let us give them a reality. Why should we delay a moment to perform what all the instructions from the different orders have constituted as almost the first of our labours? I propose, that not only for the last six months of the year, but from the very commencement of it, all the members of the privileged classes, without exception, support their proportionable part of the public imposts; and until this assembly shall have established the principles upon which taxes shall in future be paid, I am of opinion the adjustment of the proportion should be left to the discretion of the provincial assemblies, the assemblies of the departments, &c."

These renunciations were followed by those of the exclusive *right of rabbit warrens*, and of *fisheries*. M. de Riche proposed to abolish the *sale of offices*; and the count de Visieux recommended the demolition of *dove-cotes*, which, trifling as the evil may appear to us, were from their numbers a serious grievance to the peasantry of France. The cure of Souppes offered, in the name of his brethren, the relinquishment of casualties, and all fees exacted from the poor. This generous declaration was followed by that of several dignitaries of the church, who stated, that, agreeably to the spirit of the canons, they were determined to limit themselves to the possession of a *single benefice*. M. Duport embraced this opportunity to compliment the inferior clergy, and to propose an *augmentation of their stipends*.

After confirming these proposals by a vote of the assembly, the business of reform appeared almost exhausted,
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when the deputies of those provinces which enjoyed peculiar privileges, came forward to lay their charters and their franchises at the feet of the national representatives. Dauphine, which was always forward to sacrifice its advantages to the welfare of the nation, was the first to testify its acquiescence on the present occasion. The marquis de Blazons called the attention of the assembly to the resolution which his province had passed at Vizille, to renounce its peculiar privileges. He expressed his wish that all the other provinces would imitate this example, and declare themselves satisfied with the name and privileges of French citizens. He had scarcely spoken when the deputies of Britany, which had always been the rival of Dauphine in patriotism, pressed round the table to make a similar sacrifice. The impatience of the representatives of Provence and Forcalquier scarcely suffered them to wait till those of Britany had made their patriotic declaration; and they were followed by the deputation of Burgundy, Languedoc, and by the representatives of Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Strasburg, &c.

A number of motions of less importance succeeded: and the suppression of deport, vacat, annates, and pluralities, was immediately decreed. The duke de Laincourt proposed that a medal should be struck off in commemoration of this unparalleled session, and that a solemn Te Deum should be performed. On the reigning monarch the august title of RESTORER OF GALIC LIBERTY was conferred by a decree, and a deputation appointed to wait upon his majesty, respectfully to inform him of these transactions.

It is evident that these sacrifices, disinterested as they were, could not be generally acceptable. The great body of the nobility and clergy were disposed to deny the power of their representatives, who, they asserted, had voted away what was not their own. That they should not have had more weight with the people, is more surprising; but

but the spirit of anarchy and licentiousness was excited, and could not easily subside. In some places, the decrees of the assembly seemed to be made the excuse for new disorder—The game in particular was made a common prey; and, in the pursuit, even the extreme necessities of the kingdom were disregarded, as the standing corn was trodden down and destroyed. But the great cause of confusion was the increasing scarcity of bread, which seemed to render the populace desperate, and totally regardless of order. Some convoys of bread and provisions were stopped on the road to Paris; and two electors of that city, who were employed at Provence in purchasing supplies for the metropolis, were arrested on the suspicion of being monopolists, and narrowly escaped with their lives.

On the 7th of August the new ministers, the keeper of the seals, the marshal Bauvan, the count de Montmorin, the count de la Luzerne, M. Neckar, the count de St. Priest, the archbishop of Vienne, and the count de la Tour du Pin, were introduced at their request to the assembly: and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, the keeper of the seals, drew a most lamentable picture of the disorders which prevailed throughout the kingdom. He was followed by M. Neckar, who represented, in strong terms, the miserable state of the public treasury, which on his entrance into office was found to contain only four hundred thousand livres, chiefly in notes of the *caisse d'escompte*. He added that the deficit between the income and the expences was enormous; and that such had been the sums which the king had been obliged to issue for the purchase of grain, and for the support of the poor, and such the deficiency created by the non-payment of taxes, that no resource remained but to raise a loan of thirty millions to satisfy the engagements and inevitable expences of the state for two months, by which time he presumed that considerable progress would be made in the estab-
lishing

lishing of a constitution. This loan he proposed at five per cent. But the proposal was remitted to the consideration of the committee of finance; which presuming too far upon the patriotism of the people, retrenched the terms of the loan of all those little advantages which the minister had annexed to it, in order to induce the moneyed people to subscribe, and reduced the interest to four and a half^{cts}. In the debates which took place upon the proposals of the minister, there appears reason to suspect that the count de Mirabeau was instigated by a personal opposition to M. Neckar; and it was certainly owing to his influence in the assembly that the plan of the minister was not adopted. The consequence was, that in three weeks not more than two million six hundred thousand livres were subscribed to the loan, and the project utterly failed. In order therefore to procure a supply of forty millions, another scheme was offered by M. Neckar, and adopted by the assembly, which was, to solicit a loan of eighty millions at five per cent. one half of which might be paid in stock; but the assembly had lost the favourable opportunity, and, by the impediments which they threw in the way of M. Neckar's first project, had unsettled the faith of the moneyed interest in the new government.

In the mean time the tumultuous state of the nation obliged the legislature to pass a decree, recommending to the municipalities to be vigilant for the public safety, and rigorously to prosecute all who should be found exciting public alarms or disturbances. The decrees of the 4th of August also had been sent to a committee, which was appointed for the purpose of reducing them into the form

* This was one of the first errors of the assembly—It will be curious to attend to the gradations by which France has been ruined; they all originated in that fatal distrust of the executive power, which first led them to counteract, next to disgrace ministers, and at last to dethrone the monarch himself.

of a law; and from the 5th to the 11th the different articles were debated. Most of those which respected the feudal claims were confirmed with little variation; but the committee considering tithes as a species of feudal tax levied on the land, had inserted them in the decree as redeemable like the other feudal assessments. To this construction the clergy strongly objected, and alledged that it confounded two things essentially different, the feudal tithes and those which were purely ecclesiastical, which last constituted a species of private property, not at the disposal of the nation. The necessities of the state, on the other hand, had for some time induced the popular party to look upon the wealth of the church as the last resource for the replenishment of an exhausted treasury; and with this view the proposal of the committee was strenuously supported by Messrs. Chaffel, Mirabeau, &c. The abbe Sieyes was the ablest defender of the rights of the clergy. With great logical precision and accurate information, he evinced that the tithes were not a tax imposed by the nation, but a rent-charge laid upon their estates by the original proprietors for the maintenance of the church; that the actual proprietors had purchased their estates subject to this rent-charge; and that the legislature had no authority to transfer this, which was real property, from the hands of the clergy to the landholders, who had no legitimate nor apparent claim to it.—“If you wish to be free,” added he, “begin by being just.” The necessities of the nation, however, constituted a plea on the other side, which was not to be resisted*; and on the morning after this debate, fifteen cures sent to the assembly an act, by which they voluntarily resigned into the hands of the nation the whole of their ecclesiastical rights,

* This was the second great error of the assembly. To alienate the affections of so important a body as the clergy, in this early stage of the Revolution, was no less impolitic than the cause was unjust.

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and declared that they were content to rely on the justice of that body for an equitable provision. This act of patriotism was received with the loudest burst of applause; and, as if by a sudden emotion, all the parochial clergy in the assembly stepped forward to the table to make the same sacrifice. The archbishop of Paris next declared, "that, in the name of his brethren, he begged leave to place the whole of their tithes under the discretion of the representatives of the nation—claiming only for themselves enough to support the decency and dignity of public worship; and to enable them to administer to the relief of the poor."—"Such is the wish of all the clergy," exclaimed the cardinal de la Rochefoucault; "we place our confidence in the nation."

The decree which abolished the feudal system, and the exclusive privileges of hunting, fishing, &c. and which laid all offices and dignities open to every citizen without distinction of birth; which declared that the tithes should be commuted for a certain stipend; which prohibited the sale of offices, the payment of fees to the clergy on casualties, and all payments to the see of Rome; which annihilated the feudal jurisdictions, pluralities, pensions, and the particular privileges of those provinces which were called *pays d'états*, was finally passed on the 13th of August, and accepted by the King.

Tacitus has somewhere lamented, that the scenes which his duty compelled him to record, wanted that interest and variety which decorated the more flourishing periods of the republic, and complains that his annals contain little more than details of bloodshed and assassinations. In this respect the historian of anarchy will find himself in a similar predicament with the annalist of despotism; and the necessity of recurring so frequently to the odious topic of popular commotion and phrensy, may perhaps be supposed to stand in need of no apology. The truth is, the kingdom of France, at the period we are

are describing, was destitute of regular government. The executive power, which is only supported by public opinion, was seized with a kind of political paralysis; it was neither capable of restraining the public impetuosity, nor of directing its motions. The whole kingdom was in agitation, and the slightest rumour was sufficient to produce a paroxysm of popular delusion and madness. The metropolis was however agitated beyond every other part; it was the centre of political discussion, and the theatre where those who were disaffected to the new order of things could put in action their artifices with most effect. The calamities which the people had so lately escaped, and the malevolence and well-known perfidy of their enemies, had generated in them habits of suspicion; and the acts of bloodshed into which they had been betrayed, had familiarized them with cruelty.

In this state of things, we are not to wonder if we see the populace on the point of sacrificing one of their best friends, and in the course of a few weeks demanding clamorously the life of him whom they had chosen for their General. Thus, while the assembly were engaged in performing the most important services to the people, the inhabitants of Paris were endeavouring to dip their hands in the blood of a man (the marquis de la Salle) who, though one of the first of the nobles, had deserted the cause of his order from an affection for the people. On the 5th of August, about nine in the evening, a boat was discovered on the river, rowed by three men, and was stopped by the inhabitants of Port St. Paul: It was found loaded with ammunition from the arsenal; and this discovery was no sooner made, than a general alarm was excited. The boatmen were examined, and M. de la Voisniere and some other persons who had the custody of the powder, &c. were sent for, who produced an order signed "De la Salle, acting for M. de la Fayette." It was in vain that it was represented to the mob, that
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this powder was *poudre de traite*, that is, of an inferior quality, such as is sent to Guinea, which was transporting from the arsenal only to be changed for better. The mob immediately exclaimed, it is *poudre de traître!* and clamoured for vengeance. M. de Salle had been dining in the country, and in the evening had returned to the Hotel de Ville, where he was no sooner arrived than he found upwards of forty thousand people demanding his life. Learning by accident the cause of the tumult, he had, however, the good fortune to retreat without being discovered.

During this time a miscreant had mounted the lamp-post, with a new rope in his hand, where he is said to have remained for not less than three quarters of an hour, while a crew of banditti broke into the Hotel de Ville, and ascended even into the clock, in quest of the marquis de la Salle. The coolness and serenity of the marquis de la Fayette, appeared to increase with the tumult and the danger. In the mean time he had given secret orders, and had arranged every thing for the public safety by the agency of a faithful serjeant. At length, when he was satisfied that every thing was right, he suddenly arose, and addressing himself to the committee who had sat with him the whole evening, he said—“ You are fatigued, gentlemen, and I am fatigued also—let us retire; the Greve is completely free; and I give you my word, that Paris was never in a more perfect state of tranquillity.” On looking out of the windows, nothing was to be seen of the mob who had so lately filled the square; it was entirely occupied by soldiers of the national guard, drawn up in most excellent order, who had been gradually introduced by the marquis, and by this means without tumult or trouble expelled their opponents.

The restoration of tranquillity and order was an object of the first importance with the friends of liberty, and it was evident, that to place the municipal governments

under proper regulations was the only method of effecting this desired end. As Paris also was not only the first in importance, but the most exposed to the disasters of anarchy, to put a stop to the disorders of the capital was a matter of the most urgent necessity; this could only be done by giving the citizens an interest in the support of good government; and by conferring on those who had property to defend, functions and authority adequate to this purpose; by establishing a regular chain of subordination, and enabling each person to comprehend his proper duties as a public man. A temporary plan of municipal regulation was therefore advised by M. Bailly for the metropolis, which was to exist only till the assembly had perfected that more enlarged scheme by which the whole of the kingdom was to be regulated. As this plan was only temporary, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail concerning it. It is sufficient to say, that the number of the representatives of the districts were augmented to three hundred; that a committee of subsistence was established, which delivered the city from the horrors of famine; and that a lieutenant of the mayor was appointed in every district, who contributed greatly to preserve the harmony of government, and to facilitate the execution of every measure for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Another operation no less important was the organization of the national guard in Paris. The plan of M. de la Fayette for this purpose was simple but excellent. The Parisian infantry was limited to thirty-one thousand men, of whom one thousand were officers; six thousand were paid as soldiers, and the other twenty-four thousand consisted entirely of the citizens without pay. The city of Paris was apportioned in six military divisions; a commandant was created for each; and to each district a battalion was appointed, composed of five companies of one hundred men each; in those battalions, one company consisted

consisted of regular soldiers, or the old French guards, and termed the centre company. The districts elected their military officers. The choice of each of the six commandants was referred to an electoral assembly of the division, composed of representatives of the districts. The right of electing a commander in chief was vested in the districts at large, who appointed a major and lieutenant-general. To these important posts the marquis de la Fayette promoted M. Gouvion, who had been his colleague and companion when he fought for American liberty; and M. Jarre, who had been distinguished in Holland by his attachment to the patriotic party.

After having satisfied the immediate demands of the nation, by the abolition of the feudal absurdities, the national assembly returned to its great work, a declaration of the rights of man. Among the many schemes or systems which were presented to the assembly on this occasion, three principally arrested their attention: those of M. de la Fayette, of the abbe Sieyes, and of M. Mounier. The first of these, in its clearness and simplicity, greatly resembled the celebrated American declaration: that of the abbe Sieyes embraced the whole fabric of man, and pointed out his right and his duties in the various departments of social life; it was, however, too complex and profound to be adopted as a kind of popular catechism: that of M. Mounier was not quite so plain and simple as that of the marquis de la Fayette, and was yet less complex than the other. It was, however, neither sufficiently clear and decisive in its principles, nor concise in its phraseology; and the assembly, after long debates, referred the matter to a committee of five members. M. Mirabeau proposed, that the declaration of rights might serve as a kind of preface or introduction to the system of the constitution. After long debates upon the subject, however, it was agreed, that the declaration of rights should be immediately published; and

on the 20th of August that form was adopted, which afterwards appeared at the head of the new constitution.

It would be at once useless and uninteresting to enter into a minute detail of the circumstances under which the several articles of the French constitution were voted, or of the debates which they occasioned. The day after the declaration of rights was decreed, six articles, chiefly relating to the nature of the monarchy, collected literally from the instructions, were read in the assembly, and were upon the point of being collectively passed; but M. Pethion, whose antimonarchical prejudices have been so injurious to his country, entered upon a long declamation on the subject, and insisted on the rashness of passing a number of articles without a specific examination. After a debate of some length, it appeared that the great object of discussion would be the share which should be allowed to the monarch in the legislative authority. It was therefore determined previously to investigate this single point, whether a law could be enacted by the mere authority of the legislative body, without the sanction of the king, or what we term in England the *royal assent*? The latin word *veto*, which had been in use in Poland on similar occasions, was adopted in the debates to express the negative of the king; and on the subject of this negative three opinions were prevalent in the national assembly.

Mess. Mounier, Lally Tolendal, Treillard, d'Antraigues, de Mirabeau, and de Liancourt, supported the absolute veto of the king. Two powers, they observed, existed in the body politic; the power of willing or decreeing, and that of acting. By the first a society established the rules of its own conduct, and by the second rules were carried into execution and effect. Both of these powers are equally necessary; and if on the one part it is essential to liberty that the legislative should be secured from the executive power, so it is no less necessary to support this last against the usurpations of the other; this could only
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be effected by investing the chief magistrate with an authority to examine the acts of the legislative body, and to refuse to endow them with the sacred character of laws.

If the whole collective body of the people were capable of expressing their will in direct terms, it would be absurd to subject laws so enacted to a royal sanction; but in a representative government, where the deputies might be chosen more from circumstances of fortune and situation than from personal virtue and merit, and where it is possible that the majority of them might unite in opposition to the general good, it is necessary to counteract such an aristocracy by the prerogative of a monarch. Hence an alliance between the crown and the people, against every species of aristocracy, is created by their respective interests and their fears. If, for instance, the prince is possessed of no negative, what shall hinder the representatives from passing an act for perpetuating their own authority, like the famous long parliament of England? What shall prevent them from invading all the functions of the executive power, as well as the rights of the people? There are only two cases in which a monarch can be supposed to refuse his assent: 1st, where he conceives the law in the question to be opposite to the real interests of the people; or 2dly, where, deceived by his ministers, he is induced to resist a law which is injurious to their personal interests. In the first case the prerogative will be beneficially exercised; in the second, the law will be only suspended: for it is impossible that a limited monarch should long resist the wishes of the whole nation. In fact, his veto, however absolute, can be no more at any time than an appeal from the legislature to the people at large.

Such were the arguments with which the almost irresistible eloquence of Mirabeau, in particular, defended the absolute veto; they were, however, combated with some energy by the opposite party. It is essentially neces-

sary, said they, to preserve distinct the two departments of government, the legislative and the executive powers; nor is there any thing in the proper and natural functions of a king, which makes it necessary to constitute him as an essential integrant branch of the legislature. It is difficult to draw the line between the right of stopping proceedings, and the right action. The right of stopping proceedings in the hands of the executive power, would be to make it superior to the majority of the legislature, it would be a *lettre de cachet* against the supreme will of the nation.

A suspensive veto, or an appeal to the will of the nation, it was urged, would be attended with worse consequences than even the absolute negative: it would change the very nature of the government, and convert it into a pure democracy, instead of a representative government. What an appeal would it be, to twenty-six millions of people, of whom nine-tenths are destitute of instruction, and incapable of understanding the complex nature of political questions? But it is pretended that the legislative power may one day encroach upon the executive; as if a power destitute of arms, could contend with a power which has continually arms in its hands; as if an assembly of 1200 men, necessarily divided by their private interests, and invested with a transient authority, were likely to invade successfully the perpetual and hereditary depository of the whole public force. Consult history, and you will find throughout every page the legislature of free nations employed, not in usurping the executive power, but in restraining it. Doubtless a good king will consult the general wish of the nation; but a violent and obstinate king will expose, in defending his prerogative, both his crown and his life.

It was in these terms that Mess. Garat junior, de Landine, Sales, Beaumetz, and others, attacked the royal negative. A very small party pleaded for a suspensive veto;

veto ; but as both the great parties agreed in rejecting it, every plan of mediation appeared at first improbable. In the course, however, of the discussion, new lights were reflected upon the subject, and inclined both parties at length to this middle path.

It was acknowledged that the great fountain of the executive power could not, without some danger, be deprived of this prerogative ; nor could it be unlimitedly assigned to the monarch, without the apprehension of a danger still superior. The decisions of a legislative body are certainly not infallible, and in some instances may be opposite even to the will of the nation in general ; in that case, therefore, there should exist some counterpoise to their action ; and though it might be dangerous and impolitic to make the king a constituent part of the legislature, yet the power of suspending a law is not an act of legislation. An actual appeal to the people at large would be impracticable, if not unconstitutional. When France adopted the representative form of government, it virtually abolished mandatory instructions from the constituents : supposing then the national assembly to be changed at certain periods by new elections, no great inconvenience could arise from investing the monarch with a power of suspending, for a certain number of successive legislatures, any law that might appear to him contrary to the welfare of the state. It was added, would not this suspensive veto, on the other hand, place the representatives and the king in a state of emulation extremely conducive to the general good ? Would not the deputies of the nation become more circumspect, in not presenting for the royal sanction laws which the king might reject with applause ? And would not the monarch be cautious of suspending laws, so good in themselves as to secure their enactment in successive legislatures ?

The discussion of this important question was not confined to the assembly. The city of Paris most illegally

and improperly presumed to dictate on this occasion, and afforded a melancholy omen of that horrid and unconstitutional interference by which the government was to be afterwards outraged: the populace threatened again to relapse into their former violence: and even a list was shewn in which a number of members belonging to the assembly itself were marked for destruction. Rennes and Dinan also formally protested against the veto in the most violent terms. In the mean time a memoire was sent from M. Neckar to the assembly on this subject, in which by a number of very sensible arguments, he enforced the adoption of the suspensive veto, limiting its effect to two legislatures: but the majority, consisting of the most violent of both parties, on the plea of prohibiting all ministerial influence, would not permit the memoire to be read. It was, however, made public in a few days, and is supposed to have had considerable weight with the people at least, if not with the assembly. It was therefore at length determined, "that the king should have the power of suspending any decree for two successive legislatures; but that if a third should persist in enacting it, in that case it was to have the force of a law without the royal sanction."

While the assembly remained undetermined on the important question of the royal *veto* (for it was in agitation from the latter end of August to the 17th of September), other subjects of government not less interesting presented themselves for discussion. The first of these regarded the permanence of a national assembly; in plain terms, whether there should always exist an assembly ready to be convoked upon any occasion, like the parliament of England; or whether it should only meet periodically, and be virtually dissolved on the close of the session. On this topic there was little room for dissent, and it was carried in favour of a permanent assembly with only three dissenting voices. On the next topic of discussion there

was

was less unanimity. M. Lally Tollendal, in the name of the committee of constitution, proposed that the legislature should consist of two chambers, a lower and an upper house. In the original draft which the reporter exhibited as an improvement on the English constitution, the senate or upper house was to be composed of members chosen for life; but M. Mounier thought that this high dignity ought to be conferred only for seven years.

This proposed organization was universally disapproved by the people. It was evidently founded on the supposed balance of powers in the English constitution. But the popular party considered it as an asylum for the old aristocracy, and (to use the phraseology of a writer of this party) as the cradle of a new one: nay, even the partisans of the feudal system opposed the creation of a new dignity, which was to be raised in function and authority above the ancient nobility of the realm.

On the discussion of the subject in the assembly, the English government was treated with all due respect; but M. Rabaut de St. Etienne observed, that the establishment of an upper house there, was not originally with any view of restraining the excesses of popular councils, but was simply a treaty of accommodation; a capitulation between the arrogance of the great and the spirit of liberty in the people. "It is," said he, "one of the feudal relics, and we have agreed to destroy that pernicious system."

The very nature of things, it was urged, is adverse to every division of the legislative authority. The nation which is represented is *one*, the representative body ought to be *one* also. The *will* of the nation, of which the assembly is the organ, is indivisible, and so ought to be the *voice* which pronounces it.—Again, if the two chambers have not respectively a *veto* upon the acts of each other, there is no object in dividing them; if each of them possesses this *veto*, in some cases they will be reduced to
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perfect inaction. If the senators are appointed for life, they will naturally be on the side of the monarch, who may gratify their avarice by places and pensions, and amuse their ambition by splendid expectations and promises; a senate for life would then be no more than an additional force added to the executive power.

The remainder of the debate was interrupted and tumultuous. The bishop of Langres, who was president, and a decided friend to the measure of two chambers, quitted the chair, which was taken by the count de Clermont Tonnerre; and when the suffrages were collected, though more than one thousand voted, only eighty-nine were in favour of an upper house.

In the discussion of the *veto* two other subjects had also been involved; namely, the *duration of the legislative body*, and the mode to be pursued in *re-electing the deputies*. On the first of these topics two evils were to be avoided; an existence too short, which afforded no scope for experience, nor for the display of talents, and which would necessarily render the operations of the legislature versatile and inconstant; and a protracted duration, which might open a way for corruption, and generate the *esprit de corps*. The term of *two years* was adopted*, as the medium between the extreme points of an annual assembly and the dangerous possession of authority for a more extended period. The same reasons induced the assembly to prefer the *election of new members entirely to each legislature*, rather than a partial re-election; since they conceived, that whatever the new members might want in experience they would compensate in diligence and zeal; that it might be a means of extending the political knowledge and ability of the superior classes; and, in fine, as it appeared the only effectual mode of utterly excluding the evils of faction and venality. This, however, in the

* A term of three years would have been preferable for many reasons.

conclusion,

conclusion, though it did honour to their intentions, proved the most fatal of all the false steps taken by the constituent assembly, and was assuredly the cause of the dissolution of that constitution which they had established.

The assembly decreed with an unanimous voice of acclamation, That the *person of the king is inviolable*; that the *throne is indivisible*: that the *crown is hereditary* in the males of the reigning family, according to the primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females.

The unanimity on these questions was nearly destroyed, and the proceedings of the assembly interrupted, by the artful introduction of a most imprudent topic. The only hope of the disaffected party now rested on the probability of involving the nation in a dispute or contest with some foreign power; and a fair opportunity was offered when the motion for regulating the succession came under consideration. It was then proposed, that the assembly should decide whether the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family were legally excluded by the renunciation which Philip V. had agreed to by the treaty of Utrecht. No question could be more impertinent or irrelevant in its object than this: and the necessary consequence of a decision must have been, on the one hand to disgust the court of Spain, or on the other to give occasion to the calumniators of the new legislature to assert that they paid no regard to the sacred nature of treaties. From this dilemma they were happily relieved, after three days debate, by an amendment proposed by M. Target, which disavowed the intention of extending the spirit of the last of the above articles to the prejudging of the effect of renunciation by treaty.

The decrees of the 4th of August had, as we have already stated, been sent to the king; and on the 12th of September a decree was passed, pressing the necessity of their promulgation. On the 18th a letter was received from

from his majesty, approving in general terms of the spirit of the decrees, but stating some objections against particular articles, especially the abolition of those rents which had been originally founded on personal service, but which were to the present proprietors a species of actual property; and also remarking, that some difficulty would attend the abolition of tythes; and that there appeared some danger of offending the German princes who had possessions in Alsace, which were secured to them by treaty. To these articles he proposed therefore to give only a conditional assent, with a promise of modifying or renouncing his opinions, if convinced by the observations of the national assembly.

Neither the people nor the assembly were satisfied with this letter of the king. It was said that these decrees were sent to the executive power, not for his assent, but for the purpose of promulgation merely; that they were principles rather than laws, and that the sanction of the executive power was not necessary to the consecration of principles; but that the observations of his majesty would come more properly under consideration when these articles were to be reduced into the form of laws. On the motion of M. Chapellier, therefore, it was resolved. "That the president should wait on the king to entreat him, that he would immediately order the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of August and the following days; assuring his majesty that the national assembly would pay the most respectful attention to the observations which he had been pleased to communicate." The king immediately acceded to the wishes of the legislature, and on the 20th of September sanctioned the decrees.

Amidst this general prospect of a happy establishment of rational liberty, the derangement of the finances seemed to oppose an invincible obstacle to the patriotic labours of the friends of the people. The proposed loan
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of eighty millions had failed ; loans in general were decried ; and the current specie of the kingdom was transferred to distant countries. Nothing, however, could discourage the confidence which the citizens reposed in their representatives ; the pecuniary difficulties which embarrassed the government were no sooner known, than a number of disinterested expedients were projected for relieving them. The wives and daughters of the opulent inhabitants of Paris appeared at the bar of the assembly, and, after the example of the Roman ladies, offered their jewels and ornaments of value on the altar of the public. The whole kingdom was at once actuated by a general enthusiasm ; infancy sacrificed its toys ; old age its comforts ; opulence presented the tribute of its wealth, and poverty itself consecrated to its country a part of its subsistence. The king, whose benevolence has never been questioned, however imprudently he may have acted in some difficult circumstances, and under improper influence, voluntarily sent his rich services of plate to the mint, though the assembly entreated him in the strongest terms to revoke his resolution.

The necessities of the state, however, were too considerable to be materially relieved by these patriotic donations ; and they were found scarcely sufficient to answer the current expences. M. Neckar was the only person who did not despair. He had the courage to represent to the assembly the calamitous situation of the republic, and the means of alleviating it. He shewed that by certain reductions in the public expence, by different projects of œconomy, by an equalization of the taxes, the most reasonable hopes might be entertained respecting the future restoration of credit, and re-establishment of the finances ; and, in order to obviate the present embarrassments, proposed that a *contribution should be demanded from each citizen equivalent to a quarter of his nett income*, to be collected in the space
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of fifteen months, agreeably to the solemn declaration of the respective contributors. The assembly were terrified at the boldness of the project; but the count de Mirabeau, who possibly repenting at the share he had taken in defeating the former project of the minister, now exerted the full force of his irresistible talents in his favour. He proved that the exigencies of the state required an immediate supply; and that it was impossible to substitute a new scheme of finance in the place of that proposed by M. Neckar, or even to examine that which he had submitted to them; since to go through the very figures which the statement contained would require a period of not less than three entire months. He urged the necessity or confidence in such a conjuncture: a confidence which he observed the former conduct of the minister entirely warranted; and which ought now to be accorded to him, even though his plan might not be the best that human ingenuity could devise, because there was no other before them which they could adopt. The assembly upon these reasons accepted the plan of M. Neckar; and on the 1st of October he presented it in its perfect form, and with it his own contribution, which amounted to 100,000 livres.

Though the scheme however was accepted in the general, the execution of it in detail appeared to be attended with some difficulty; the principal of which was that all the *cahiers* or instructions had prohibited the imposing of any taxes till the constitution should be established. In this case, however, the necessities of the state rendered a strict compliance with the instructions impossible; but as a pledge to the public, that the assembly were not inattentive to the will of their constituents, several of the patriotic members proposed, that the king should be requested to accept that part of the constitution which was already determined, previous to presenting him with the decree concerning this extraordinary

nary impost. M. Mirabeau, happily combining the different views upon this subject, proposed to make the first part of M. Neckar's plan the preamble to the decree, in order that the prospect of relief might be as conspicuous as the demand. His plan was therefore adopted, notwithstanding the clamours of opposition; and the decree, along with the declaration of rights, was in this state presented to the king.

The events which follow, are by the candid of all parties allowed to be still enveloped in an almost impenetrable cloud of mystery. The democratic writers assert, that a plot was concerted of immense extent for the total ruin of the liberties of France; the principal articles of which were—That the king was to be transported voluntarily, or involuntarily, to Metz; where the royal standard was to be erected; where all the ancient instruments of despotism, the ministers, generals and parliaments, were to be assembled, and to issue manifestoes against the representatives of the nation—That a subscription was actually opened, by them who termed themselves the *king's party*, for the express purpose of carrying on a civil war—That both the capital and Versailles was once more to be invested with a powerful army—and that the national assembly was to be forcibly dissolved. These assertions undoubtedly receive some countenance from the fragment of a letter from the count d'Estaing to the queen, in which he mentions some rumours having reached his ears, and in which he earnestly dissuades her from becoming a party in so rash a measure. The court party, on the other hand, throw the blame upon their adversaries, and affirm that the whole was a preconcerted plan of the popular leaders to force the king and the assembly to reside within the walls of Paris.

All however that is known with certainty respecting the circumstances which conduced to the commotion at Versailles is, that the minds of the two great parties
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which had already begun to assume the factious epithets of *democratic* and *aristocratic*, were at this period inflamed to a most extravagant pitch of resentment, and disposed to suspect each other of the most atrocious designs; that the declaration of rights and the first articles of the constitution had remained for some days in the hands of the king, who had delayed to give them the expected sanction; that the clamours of the aristocratic party were louder than ever; that every mode was essayed to work upon the compassion and the loyalty of the nation; that the king was represented as dethroned, and reduced to the most abject state of slavery; and that some of the dependants of the court, in the plenitude of their zeal, were heard to boast "that a few days would restore affairs to their ancient situation, and that the king and his ministers would resume their power." It is well known on the other hand, that the old French guards, who composed, as we have already seen, the centre company in each battalion of the city militia, and who had been accustomed to the honour of guarding the king's person, saw with a most jealous eye that important trust committed to the body guard and the militia of Versailles. It is not improbable too, that the more ardent of the patriotic party might entertain suspicions, that the sovereign might one day effect an escape from the unguarded palace of Versailles to put himself into the hands of their enemies, and might secretly wish to see him lodged in the centre of a city devoted to their interests, and from which there was but little probability of retreat.

An incident which occurred at Versailles (which stamps the conduct of the court with at least the stigma of imprudence, and which evinced that they were not without hopes that, as the revolution was in a great measure effected by the change which was produced in the minds of the soldiery, a similar change might operate

in their favour) contributed to blow the glowing embers into an open flame. The Count d'Estaing, who commanded the national guard of Versailles, either influenced by the court, or jealous of the inclination which the French guards had manifested to partake in the honour of guarding their monarch, requested an additional regiment to assist him in preserving tranquillity and order at the palace; and the regiment of Flanders dragoons was accordingly ordered for this service. On the 1st of October, an entertainment (the first that was ever given in public at Versailles by that body) was given by the *gardes-du-corps*, or king's body guard, to the officers of the regiment of Flanders; and to augment the unpopularity of the circumstance, it was given in the royal saloon. Several of the officers of the national guard, with others of the military, were invited. At the second course, four toasts were given, "The king, and the queen, the dauphin, and the royal family." "The nation" was proposed, but, according to a number of witnesses, expressly rejected by the *gardes-du-corps*.

The king was just returned from hunting, and the queen, having been informed of the gaiety of the scene, persuaded his majesty to accompany her with the heir apparent to the saloon, which was now filled with soldiers—the grenadiers of Flanders and the Swiss *chasseurs* having been admitted to the dessert. The queen appeared with the dauphin in her arms, affectionate as she was lovely, and carried the royal infant through the saloon, amidst the acclamations and murmurs of the spectators. Fired with enthusiasm, the soldiers drank the health of the king, the queen, and the dauphin, with their swords drawn; and the royal guests bowed respectfully, and retired.

The entertainment, which had hitherto been conducted with some degree of order, now became a scene of entire confusion. Nothing was omitted to inflame the passions

of the military. The music played the favourite air—
“ O Richard, O my king, the world abandons thee ;”
the ladies of the court distributed *white cockades*, the
antipatriotic ensign; and even some of the national guard,
it is said, had the weakness to accept them. In the
height of this political banquet, it is affirmed, and there is
indeed little cause to doubt it, that many expressions of
marked disrespect towards the assembly and the nation
escaped from the officers of the *gardes-du-corps*, and
others of the military; this however might easily have
happened in such circumstances, without the least of pre-
meditation or evil design.

During these transactions the city of Paris was afflicted
with all the evils of famine. Either no bread was to be
obtained, or bread of so bad a quality, that the populace,
always mistrustful and suspicious, were not without their
alarms of a criminal design upon the lives, or at least the
health, of the inhabitants. Such was the state of things
when the news arrived of the fatal banquet at Versailles.
The circumstances which we have related were strangely
magnified; and all the suspicions which were entertained
respecting the design of dissolving the assembly, and
carrying off the sovereign, were added in exaggeration.
At the same time the mutual resentment of the contend-
ing parties hourly augmented; and the imprudent
conduct of the minority exposed them to every insult.
White and black cockades were worn as signals of defiance.
They were torn out of the hats of the wearers by the
mob; but such was the enthusiasm of one of these vota-
ries of party, that he is said to have picked up from the
ground this relic of loyalty, to have kissed it respectfully,
and attempted to replace it in his hat. Every measure
that could be taken by the three hundred directors of the
municipality to prevent the spreading of the insurrection
was taken—in vain! Early on the morning of the memo-
rable 5th of October, a woman sallied out from the
quarter

quarter of St. Eustacia, and entering the corps-du-garde, and seizing a drum, paraded the adjacent streets beating an alarm, and exciting the people with clamours respecting the scarcity of bread. She was soon joined by a very numerous mob, chiefly of women, and repaired immediately to the Hotel de Ville. A few of the committee of the commune were assembled; and M. Gouvion, at the head of the national guard, endeavoured to prevent their entrance; but the soldiers, swayed either by gallantry, humanity, or disaffection, gave way, and permitted them to pass. Some of the women, who by their air and manner appeared to be of a superior class, entered with good humour into conversation with the committee, and pleaded eloquently the cause of their companions, who under various circumstances of misery came to ask for relief. But the greater number, both by their appearance and their conduct, shewed that they were collected from the lowest rank of indigence and depravity. With horrid imprecations they demanded bread and arms; they exclaimed with violence against the pusillanimity of the men, and threatened the lives of the whole committee, and particularly of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette. Others penetrated the magazine of arms; and a third troop ascended the belfry, where they attempted to strangle the abbe de Lefevre. In one of the halls two furies endeavoured to set fire to the public papers, but were happily prevented by Stanislaus Maillard, who had rendered himself so famous at the taking of the Bastille.

This young patriot, finding all endeavours to resist the fury of the mob in vain, employed a new stratagem to preserve his country. He applied to the commanding officer for his authority; and having obtained it, he proceeded down the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, which were filled with women, and seizing a drum, which lay at the door, he offered to put himself at the head of the insurgents, the universal clamour was to proceed to Ver-

saillies, By an unanimous shout of applause Maillard was chosen captain of this turbulent troop; and by his authority the assembly was adjourned to the *Champs Elisees*. When arrived at this general rendezvous their numbers amounted to eight thousand; and their first measure was to surround their chief, and to insist upon his leading them to the arsenal to equip themselves completely with arms. Fortunately he had authority enough to make himself heard, and to convince them that the arms had been removed from the arsenal, and he had even sufficient address to engage them to lay aside the weapons with which they had provided themselves, by representing to them, that since their object was to supplicate the assembly for justice and for bread, they would operate more forcibly on the compassion of that body, by appearing as distressed petitioners, than with arms in their hands. They departed for Versailles about noon, preceded by a company of armed men, and guarded in the rear by the volunteers of the Bastille, whom Maillard had prepared for that purpose.

Unfortunately the fanaticism of the moment was communicated to the grenadiers. They not only declared, "that they could not turn their bayonets against the poor women who came to ask for bread," but intimated an inclination themselves to proceed to Versailles. Their spokesman declaimed loudly against the committee of subsistence, against the *gardes-du-corps*, and concluded, "that the people were miserable, and the source of the evil was at Versailles; that they must go and find out the king, and bring him to Paris." While the marquis de la Fayette reasoned, insisted, threatened, the tumult increased from all quarters; an immense crowd armed with sticks, pikes, guns, &c. rushed from the suburbs; and though the national guard appeared not in the most tractable disposition, the mayor and municipality probably conceived it to be the only means of preventing mischief at
Versailles

Verfailles to permit their departure with their commander at their head. The marquis therefore received an order to depart for Verfailles, and it was moft cheerfully obeyed by the national guard.

The representatives of the nation, the majority of whom at leaft were totally unconfcious of what was paffing in Paris, were affembled on the 5th, in expectation of receiving back the constitutional articles fannctioned by the king. M. Mounier was then president. The fitting opened with reading a letter from the king, in which he pleaded "the difficulty of judging partially of the constitution;" adding, however, that in the confidence that the new articles were calculated to eftablifh the happinefs and profperity of the kingdom, he accepted them; but with one pofitive condition, that from the fpirit of the whole fystem the executive power fhould have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch. He concluded with obferving, that though thefe constitutional articles did not all indifcriminately prefent him with the idea of perfection, yet he thought it proper to pay this refpect to the wifh of the affembly, and to the *alarming circumftances* which fo ftrongly preffed him to defire the re-eftablifhment of peace, order, and confidence.

This letter by no means proved acceptable to the affembly; the popular members marked in ftrong terms their difapprobation of this provisional affent, which only feemed to be given in confequence of the alarming circumftances of the nation. In the courfe of the debate many allufions were made to the indecent feftival of the military which difgraced Verfailles on the preceding week. The infults offered to the nation and the national cockade were pointedly mentioned, as well as the menaces of the foldiery. A motion was at length made, that the guilty perfons on that occafion fhould be delivered up to the rigour of the law, and that the accufations which had been infinuated fhould be formed into a criminal procefs.

At these words the count de Mirabeau rose. "I begin," said he, "by declaring that I consider the motions as supremely impolitic; nevertheless, if it is persisted in, I am ready to produce the details, and to sign them with my own hand. But this assembly must first declare that the person of the king *alone* is sacred, and that all other individuals, whatever their station, are equally subjects, and responsible to the laws." The prudence of the president and the assembly prevailed over the rashness of both parties. The motion was withdrawn, and it was decreed, that the president should wait on the king to request a simple acceptance of the constitutional articles. The assembly was frequently alarmed, during the course of this discussion, by repeated intelligence that all Paris was advancing to Versailles. Maillard conducted his tumultuous troop with uncommon address. When he came within sight of Versailles he arranged them in three ranks; and advertised them, that as they were entering a place where they were not expected, they must be careful, by the cheerfulness of their appearance and the regularity of their conduct, to excite no alarms in the inhabitants. When arrived at the gate of the national assembly, Maillard undertook to speak for them. He entered attended by fifteen of the women, and persuaded the rest to wait for his return at the gate. His address had two objects: "to entreat that the assembly would devise some method of relieving the dreadful scarcity of bread which prevailed at Paris, and which he said had been occasioned by the interception of convoys, and by the monopolists; and to solicit that the gardes-du-corps might be ordered to assume the national cockade." He had scarcely finished, when a national cockade was presented to him on the parts of the gardes-du-corps, as a proof that they had already adopted it. Maillard shewed it to the women, who immediately answered, by loud acclamations of *Vive le roi, & MM. les gardes-du-corps!*

corps! A deputation was immediately appointed to wait on the king with [this intelligence.

The king had gone that morning to take the diversion of shooting in the woods of Meudon; and in the midst of his sport intelligence was brought, "that a most formidable band of women were on the way from Paris, exclaiming for bread." "Alas!" answered the king, "if I had it, I should not wait to be asked." On his return, as soon as he mounted his horse; a chevalier of St. Louis fell upon his knees and beseeched his majesty not to be afraid. "I never was afraid in my life," returned the king.

On his arrival at Versailles, he found the *gardes-du-corps* and the national guard under arms, and the palace surrounded by a mob. With a deputation from the assembly, five of the women were introduced to his majesty, who on hearing of the distresses of the metropolis was extremely moved, and the women sympathized in the feelings of the monarch. Louisa Chabry, a young woman who was employed in some of the branches of sculpture, and was only seventeen years of age, fainted. When she recovered she desired leave to kiss the king's hand, who embraced her, and dismissed her with an elegant compliment. The women without doors could scarcely believe the report of those who had been admitted. In the mean time the king signed an order for bringing corn from Senlis and de Lagni, and for removing every obstacle which impeded the supply of Paris. This order was reported to the women, and they retired with acclamations of gratitude and joy.

This band of Amazons was no sooner dispersed than it was succeeded by another, headed by M. Brunout, a soldier of the Parisian guard, whom they had compelled to assume the unpleasant office of their leader. It is uncertain upon what provocation M. Savonieres, a lieutenant in the *gardes-du-corps*, and two other officers,

imprudently singled out Brunout from his company, and chased him along the ranks with their drawn sabres. The unhappy man was upon the point of being cut to pieces with their sabres, when one of the national guard of Versailles fired upon M. Savonieres, and broke his arm, and by that means saved the life of Brunout: and this incident is said to have greatly increased that unfortunate antipathy which the people afterwards manifested by atrocious acts of cruelty to the gardes-du-corps.

Whether there was indeed a concerted plan to carry off the King to Metz, or whether the court was really terrified by the accident which we have just recounted, it is impossible to determine; but the king's carriages were ordered to the gate of the castle which communicates with the orangery. The national guard of Versailles, however which occupied the post, refused to permit them to pass; and the king himself was resolute in his determination to stay, declaring, "that he would rather perish, than that the blood of the people should be spilled in his quarrel."

The assembly continued sitting; but the session tumultuous, and interrupted by the shouts and harangues of the Parisian fish-women, who filled the galleries.* A letter, however, from the king was read, deploring the scarcity of provisions, and recommending that effectual means might be taken to remedy that calamity; and in a little time after N. Mounier entered with the pure and

* The superior wisdom of the American congress over the French assembly was manifest in many instances, but in none more than this, that their deliberations were all private, or at least in the presence of few auditors. The orators of the French assemblies, too eager for applause, imprudently opened their galleries or tribunes to the public. The least pernicious effect of this injudicious arrangement was, that the assembly became a mere theatre, and the members only actors, whose sole view was to catch the applause of the galleries. In the end the auditors became their masters, and used them as they deserved.

simple assent of the king to the constitutional articles. The assembly was then adjourned; but the applause which was bestowed on its proceedings was mingled with affecting murmurs and complaints, the multitude crying out that they were actually starving, and that the majority of them had eat nothing for upwards of twenty-four hours. The president therefore humanely ordered that provisions should be sought for in every part of the town, and the hall of the assembly was the scene of a miserable, scanty, and tumultuous banquet. Indeed, such was the dreadful famine, that the horse of one of the gardes-du-corps being killed in a tumult, he was immediately roasted, and greedily devoured by the mob. Previous to the adjournment of the assembly, Maillard and a number of the women set off in carriages, provided by the king, for Paris, carrying with them the king's letter, and the resolves of the national assembly, in the hope of restoring peace to the metropolis.

Darkness and a deluge of rain added to the horrors of the night. The wretched multitudes who had travelled from Paris were exposed, almost famished, to the inclemencies of the weather in the open streets: within the castle all was trepidation; nothing was to be heard from without but imprecations, and the voice of enraged multitudes demanding the lives of the queen and of the gardes-du-corps. Towards midnight, however, all appeared tolerably peaceable, when the beating of the drums, and the light of innumerable torches, announced the approach of the Parisian army. The marquis de la Fayette on his arrival repaired to the royal closet, and informed the king of the whole proceedings of the day; a part of the national guards were distributed in posts agreeably to the orders of his majesty; the rest were entertained by the inhabitants of Versailles, or retired to lodge in the churches and public edifices, for the remainder of the night; and tranquillity appeared once more perfectly restored.

The

The troops of vagabonds who had accompanied Mailard, or who had followed the Parisian militia, were chiefly disposed of in the hall of the assembly, and in the great corps-de-garde; and at about five in the morning the marquis de la Fayette, after visiting all the posts, and found every thing perfectly quiet, retired to his chamber to write to the municipality of Paris, and perhaps in the hope of snatching a few hours repose.

The day began to break at about half past five: and at this period, crowds of women and other desperate persons, breathing vengeance and thirsting for blood, advanced to the castle, which, in the fatal security which the arrival of the Parisian militia inspired, was left unguarded in several places. Some of the iron gates were shut, and some left open. An immense crowd found its way into the *cour des ministres*, and immediately proceeded to the royal gate, which was shut, and a number of the invaders attempted to scale it. Another troop of ruffians proceeded to the chapel court, and another to that of the princes, and by both these avenues penetrated into the royal court. Some hasty dispositions of defence were made by a M. Agueffeu; the gardes-du-corps were soon under arms, and one man was wounded by them in the arm, and another shot dead. The crowd immediately mounted the grand stair-case, where one of the gardes-du-corps, M. Miomandre, endeavoured to dissuade them from their attempt; but he narrowly escaped with his life. M. Tardivet du Repaire hastened to the queen's apartment, in order to prevent the entrance of the banditti; but he was assailed by thousands, and felled to the ground. A villain with a pike attempted to pierce him to the heart; but he had the good fortune to wrest the weapon from his hand, with which he parried the attacks of his enemies, and at length effected his escape. M. Miomandre in the mean time made his way to the queen's apartment. He opened the door, and cried out

to

to a lady whom he saw in the inner chamber—"Save the queen, madam, her life is in danger; I am here alone against two thousand tigers." He shut the door; and after a few minutes resistance was desperately wounded with a pike, and left for dead: though he afterwards recovered.

The queen had been awaked a quarter of an hour before by the clamours of the women who assembled upon the terrace; but her waiting-women had satisfied her by saying, "that they were only the women of Paris, who she supposed, not being able to find a lodging, were walking about." But the tumult approaching, and becoming apparently more serious, she rose, dressed herself in haste, and ran to the king's apartment by a private passage. In her way she heard the noise of a pistol and a musket, which redoubled her terror. "My friends," said she to every person she met, "save me and my children." In the king's chamber she found the dauphin, who had been brought there by one of her women; but the king was gone.—Awaked by the tumult, he had seen from a window the multitude pressing towards the great stair-case; and alarmed for the queen, he hastened to her apartment, and entered at one door in the moment she had quitted it by the other. He returned without loss of time; and having with the queen brought the princess royal into the chamber, they prepared to face the multitude.

In the mean time the noise and tumult increased, and appeared at the very door of the chamber. Nothing was to be heard but the most dreadful exclamations, with violent and repeated blows against the outer door, a pannel of which was broken. Nothing but instant death was expected by the royal company. Suddenly, however, the tumult seemed to cease—every thing was quiet; and, a moment after, a gentle rap was heard at the door. It was opened, and in an instant the apartments were filled with

with the Parisian guard. The officer who conducted them ordered them to ground their arms. "We come," said he, "to save the king;" and turning to such of the gardes-du-corps as were in the apartments—"We will save you also, gentlemen; let us from this moment be united."

Unfortunately the national guard arrived too late to prevent all the mischief. Two of the gardes-du-corps were murdered by the mob before the troops could be rallied, and their heads fixed on spikes served as the standards of this detestable banditti. From the first moment of the alarm the marquis de la Fayette had even exceeded his usual activity. He appeared in every quarter:—"Gentlemen," said he to the Parisian soldiers, "I have pledged my word and honour to the king that nothing belonging to him shall receive injury. If I break my word, I shall be no longer worthy to be your commander." Captain Gondran, the officer who had driven the ruffians from the king's apartment, was not less conspicuous for his activity. The Parisians forced their way in every part through the almost impenetrable mass—surrounded the gardes-du-corps, and placed them in safety under their own colours.

Plunder is however commonly one great object of a mob. The banditti had already begun to strip the palace, and to throw the furniture to each other out of the windows. M. Gondran pursued them from place to place, till the castle was at length completely cleared. Expelled from the palace, they repaired to the stables; but here a sudden stop was put to their depredations by M. Doazon, a farmer-general, and captain of the Paris militia. The horses were all recovered, and brought back in safety to their stalls. Disappointed at length in every view, they departed in a body to Paris; and left Versailles entirely free, and under the protection of the national guard. The most generous expressions of kindness and gratitude took place

place between the gardes-du-corps and the national guard. The former considered the others as their deliverers; while the latter evinced every inclination that they should in future form one united corps.

The royal family now ventured to shew themselves at a balcony, and received the most lively acclamations of respect from the soldiers and the people. But whether it had been planned by the popular party, or whether it was the immediate impulse of the multitude—but the former is most probable—at the first a single voice, or a few voices, exclaimed—"The king to Paris!" and this was instantly followed by an universal acclamation enforcing the same demand. After some consultation with the marquis de la Fayette, the king addressed them:—"You wish me to go to Paris—I will go, on the condition that I am to be accompanied by my wife and children." He was answered by the reiterated acclamations of *Vive le roi!*

Before the departure of the king, the national assembly was convened; and, on the motion of M. Mirabeau, passed a solemn decree, "that the assembly was inseparable from the person of the king." A deputation of one hundred members was also appointed to accompany the king to Paris. During the preparations for the journey, the gardes-du-corps changed hats and swords with the grenadiers and national guards, and both they and the regiment of Flanders desired leave to mix indiscriminately in the ranks. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before the procession set out. During the progress all was gaiety and joy among the soldiers and the spectators; and such was the respect in which the French nation still held the name and person of their king, that the multitude were superstitiously persuaded that the royal presence would actually put an end to the famine*. On his arrival, the king was congratulated by the municipality, and declared

* The popular exclamation was, as they proceeded along, "We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the little journeyman."

his approbation of the loyalty which the city of Paris manifested. On this occasion he gave one proof, among several others which he had before given, that however he might be wrought upon by misrepresentation and evil counsels, his character was in the general neither deficient in good sense nor firmness. As they ascended the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette requested the king that he would either assure the people himself, or permit some other person to assure them in his name, that he would fix his abode in Paris. "I feel no objection," replied the monarch, "to fix my abode in my good city of Paris: but I have not yet formed any determination on the subject; and I will make no promise which I do not positively mean to fulfil."

C H A P. IV.

Emigration of the aristocratic members of the assembly—Title of King of the French—Duke of Orleans retires to England—A baker hanged by the mob at Paris—Riot act—New division of the empire—Church lands applied to the exigences of the state—Lettres de cachet abolished—Opposition of the provincial states and parliaments—Riots at Marseilles and Toulon—Melancholy event at Senlis—Debate on the eligibility of ministers to the national assembly—Corsica declared a constituent part of the French empire—Plan of the caisse de l'extraordinaire—Refusal of a donation from Geneva—of an alliance with Brabant—Resistance of the parliament of Britanny—Affair of the marquis de Favras—Municipalities made responsible for damages sustained by riots—Suppression of monasteries—Emission of assignats—Gabelle, &c. abolished—Reform of the jurisprudence—Troubles in St. Domingo, &c.—Publication of the red book—Religious insurrections at Toulouse, Montabon, and Nismes—Right of making war and peace—Organization of the clergy—Abolition of titles, &c.—Grand confederation—Return of M. d'Orleans.

WHATEVER might have been the intentions of either party in producing the riots of the 5th and 6th

6th of October, the removal of the king to the metropolis was, for the moment, productive of the happiest consequences. It satisfied the suspicious and unquiet minds of the Parisians; it brought their sovereign more immediately in connexion with them, and strengthened in some degree the bands of union: nay, chimerical as it may appear, the superstitious fancy of the populace, that the presence of the king would terminate the famine, was in some degree realised. The abundance and profusion which always accompany a court, procured some relief to the indigent; and the consciousness of the supply that would be necessary, served to replenish the impoverished markets.

The aristocratic party connected with the court, were the persons who manifested the deepest regret on this occasion. If they really entertained any design of conveying the king to a distant part, it was frustrated by this measure; and, independent of this, they had cause to be apprehensive of the fury of the populace, should any incident happen to excite their ardent and sanguinary resentment.

In the assembly itself, notwithstanding the vote which declared the legislative body to be inseparable from the person of the monarch, some objections were strongly insisted on against the projected removal; and indeed the sequel evinced them to be but too well founded. It was said, that the deputies would no longer be the legislators of the nation; they must obey the arbitrary mandates of the populace, and even the freedom of debate would be annihilated. To remove their scruples, a letter was directed to them by the king, inviting them to resume their session in the metropolis; and this was powerfully seconded by a deputation from the citizens of Paris. By the mouth of their speaker, M. Brissot, the citizens professed "their joy at the expected removal of the representative body; they pledged themselves by a solemn oath
" to protect the persons of the deputies, and the freedom
of

of debate*;" they intimated that they had forwarded an address to all the provinces and communities of France, to satisfy them relative to the late proceeding; to assure them that the commune of Paris was actuated by the most perfect loyalty to the king, the most inviolable obedience to the national assembly, and a sincere paternal regard to all the municipalities of the kingdom.

Though this address might probably diminish the fears of a part of the assembly, and certainly hastened their removal; yet the apprehensions of the aristocratic part of that body were not removed by these empty professions. Numberless passports were solicited on various excuses; and among these some deserters from the popular cause were observed with regret. M. Mounier and count Lally Tolendal retired in disgust. Many of the high aristocratic members took refuge in other countries, where they applied themselves indefatigably to what is always a destructive measure, that of exciting a foreign war against their country, and themselves. To prevent, however, as much as possible similar emigrations, the national assembly decreed, "that passports to the members should be only granted for a short and limited period; and that as to unlimited passports on account of ill health, they should not be granted till substitutes were elected; that in future all substitutes should be elected by the citizens at large, or by their representatives, without any regard to orders; and that eight days after the first session at Paris, a call of the house should be instituted."

A proclamation ascertaining the right of citizens was next decreed; the power of originating laws was exclusively confined to the assembly; and the executive power was prohibited the liberty of creating or suppressing posts or offices without an act of the legislature. The power of laying taxes was also vested exclusively in the representatives

* the oaths of a mob never can be deserving of credit.

of the people; the responsibility of ministers was established; and the pernicious phraseology in the proclamations and other acts of the king, "such as *our* pleasure," &c. was abolished. The title of the king was changed from "the king of France," to that of "king of the French," as more expressive of the office, which is a king or ruler of men, and not of the soil or territory. Some difficulty arose respecting the title of king of Navarre; for that petty state, considering itself rather as the ally than as a part of the empire, had not sent representatives to the national assembly. The deputies of the great provinces, however, strenuously opposed the title, and asserted that the king might as well be stiled count of Provence, duke of Britany, king of Corsica, as king of Navarre; it was therefore agreed to expunge the title.

Tranquillity however was by no means perfectly restored; and to repeat the vague and idle reports that every day were spread, to the alarm of people, would require volumes: for several nights the houses of individuals were marked with chalk, and the colours, it was said, whether they were to be plundered, burnt, or the inhabitants murdered. In this state of suspicion and ferment, innumerable reports, some true, and some false, and some, the foundations of which have never yet been completely explored, were industriously propagated: among others, was a rumour which represented the duke d'Orleans as harbouring criminal designs upon the crown, or the regency at least. The marquis de la Fayette, who was always forward in every thing that might contribute to the union of order and good government with the blessings of liberty, undertook to persuade the duke to withdraw himself from the public for at least a short time. He was invested with some public commission, rather nominal than real, and solicited from the assembly a passport for England. The count de Mirabeau, and some others of the more intimate friends of the duke, opposed strenuously his retiring, as

more likely to give credit to the reports against him than to disprove them; but he chose to retire from the scene of difficulty and danger. At Boulogne his highness was stopped by the municipality, notwithstanding his passport, and detained till set free by a subsequent order of the assembly.

On the 19th of October the representatives of the French nation held their first session at Paris. A deputation from the commune waited on them immediately with the congratulations of the city, at the head of which were M. Bailly the mayor, and the marquis de la Fayette. After the answer of the president, which was interrupted by peals of applause, the count de Mirabeau embraced the opportunity to press a vote of thanks to the mayor and the commander of the national guards for their essential services to the nation, and "thus (he said) to signalize their first session in the metropolis, by a public act of justice, which was calculated to confirm the authority of the civil powers, and to repress the false zeal of imprudent friends, as well as the malignant designs of the enemies of freedom." The vote of thanks was decreed amidst the loudest acclamations, and the session of that day concluded, contrary to general expectation, without the smallest disturbance.

Neither this act of respect towards the magistracy of the city, however, nor the departure of the duke d'Orleans, could entirely prevent the horrors of massacre and insurrection; and the assembly had scarcely been established two days at Paris, before a most atrocious murder, committed almost in its very presence, obliged them to adopt a stronger measure to prevent civil outrage and bloodshed. On the 21st of October an unfortunate baker, of the name of Francois, who resided in the street *Marche Palu*, close to the *Archeveche*, where the assembly at that period was convened, was singled out as the victim of popular phrensy. After having served out his usual quantity of bread

bread in the morning, he found his door still besieged by several persons who had not yet been able to obtain a supply. Among these was a woman, who is said to have borne a particular enmity against the unfortunate baker, and who insisted on searching the house for bread. On entering, she found three loaves which the journeymen had reserved for their own use; and snatching one of them in her hand, she raised the injurious outcry, that Francois had reserved a part of the provision which ought to have been distributed for the use of the poor, and that he was a monopolist and a monster. The complaint was no sooner made public than an immense mob was collected; the baker was dragged forcibly to the Greve; and there, notwithstanding all the efforts of the municipality in his favour, he was hanged.

So outrageous a defiance of authority, so complete a subversion of law and justice, could not escape the pointed notice of the legislature. The first movements of popular fury, on their deliverance from despotism, might seem excusable; but the populace of Paris had now reached the summit of licentiousness and injustice. They had erected themselves into a power superior to the magistrates; and unless some decisive measure was taken, there was danger that the representative body itself would no longer be able to maintain its authority. An act was immediately passed for the prevention and the dispersion of riots, which authorised the magistrates, or any number of persons assembling, to call in the aid of the military, and to proclaim martial law. A red flag was to be displayed from the principal window of the town-house; and from that moment all assemblies of the populace, with or without arms, were to be considered as criminal. Should the mob refuse to disperse on being required by the magistrates, the military were then to act on the offensive; those who escaped might be arrested; and if unarmed, and they had been guilty of no act of violence, they were to be imprisoned

for one year: if found in arms, they were declared liable to three years imprisonment; and if they had committed any violence, were judged guilty of a capital offence. To give effect and vigour to this law, the committee of research was ordered to make all necessary inquiries into treasonable offences; and the constitutional committee to form a plan as soon as possible of a tribunal for the trial of all crimes of *leze-nation*; and in the mean time this power was for the present vested in the court of the Chatelet.

These efforts of the assembly were vigorously seconded by the municipality. The murderer of Francois was arrested on the very day on which he committed the crime; and on the following day was executed, with another unfortunate person who was also convicted of exciting sedition. The king and queen sympathized in the distress of the unfortunate widow of Francois; by the hands of the duke de Liancourt they sent her two thousand crowns; the commune also sent a deputation with a present to her; his remains was decently interred at the public expence; and the king and queen undertook to become the sponsors at the baptism of the child with whom his widow was pregnant at the time of his death.

The same disposition to violence, the same proneness to suspicion, that appeared in the capital, was no less active in the provinces. At Alencon, the viscount Caraman, who had been sent thither by marshal Contades with a detachment of horse, was on the point of being destroyed by the populace, on a most improbable rumour that he was inimical to the revolution. And at Vernon, a Mr. Planter, deputy of the commune at Paris, who had been sent by the magistrates to purchase corn, was seized by the mob, and after a mock trial, the fatal cord was twice fixed round his neck; when Mr. Nesham, a young Englishman who happened to be in the town, opposed himself,

himself singly to the violence of the populace, and rescued from instant death a respectable member of society. For this noble act of courage and humanity, Mr. Hesham was honoured with the first civic crown which was ever decreed in France; and was presented by the magistrates of Paris with a sword, on which was engraven the honourable testimony of having saved the life of a French citizen. At Lanion, a town in Britany, also, some gentlemen who had been sent from Brest for the purchase of provisions incurred a similar danger with M. Planter. A detachment, however, of the national guard from Brest soon restored order and tranquillity, and obliged the inhabitants of Lanion to make satisfaction for the outrage they had committed.

The next object which occupied the attention of the legislative body, was to reform and organize the representation of the kingdom. A plan was proposed by the abbe Sieyes for this purpose, in which we equally admire the ingenuity of the projector, and his industry in completing it. The ancient division of the kingdom into provinces, each possessing what is termed its peculiar rights, each governed by peculiar laws, and each forming in itself a little kingdom, with its own parliament, its own metropolis, its own jurisdiction, was found to be productive of a rivalry and jealousy, which nothing but the strong arm of despotism could coerce. In the present glow of patriotism, the present transport of liberty, the minds of men were disposed to sacrifices and renunciations; but there was the utmost reason to apprehend, that should this auspicious crisis not be improved, should the generous feelings of the moment be suffered to subside, those petty local prejudices which weaken and disjoint a state would again revive; and as every government which approaches the republican form is naturally weaker than that which partakes of absolute monarchy, they could only revive to distract, and perhaps to dismem-

ber, the empire. Besides the radical division into provinces, the kingdom was also divided fantastically and irregularly upon other principles. It was divided into governments, agreeably to the military order; into generalities, according to the order of administration; into dioceses, according to the ecclesiastical order; and also subdivided into the judicial order into bailiwicks, seneschals, &c. The divisions and subdivisions were all without regularity, conformity, or proportion; neither adapted for population nor territory. A new arrangement was therefore not only essential to an equal representation of the people, but to the uniformity of government, and the security and permanence of the constitution.

Three principles were attended to in forming the new representative system: territory, population, and taxation; and it was supposed that, by the combination of these three elementary principles, they would serve mutually to assist each other.

According to the new scheme of the representation, therefore, the whole kingdom was divided into eighty-three larger sections, which were called departments, and each of which comprehended a space of about three hundred and twenty-four square leagues; each department was divided into districts, the number of which was not to be less than three, nor more than nine; each district was again subdivided into cantons of four square leagues in extent. Three degrees were preserved in the administrative assemblies; but only two in the elective. The first were the assemblies of the canton, which were called primary, and which were to choose the electors of the department; the second were the electoral assemblies, which were to return the representatives to the national assembly. The whole number of representatives was to be seven hundred and forty-five; of which two hundred and forty-seven were attached to the territory, and of which

which each department was to nominate three, except that of Paris, which nominated only one. Two hundred and forty-nine were attributed to population, each department nominating in proportion to its population; and two hundred and forty-nine were attributed to direct contribution, and each department was to nominate representatives in proportion to the contribution which it paid to the state. The functions of the elective assemblies were limited entirely to the right of election. The administrative body was to be elected by the electoral assemblies; and in each department was constituted a superior board of administration; in each district, an inferior or subordinate administration; and to these were committed the superintendance of the collection of the revenue, and all the details of interior administration.

On this great and able system of interior policy we have only to remark; that the division of the kingdom into parts too small to act offensively in a separate state, was, for the reasons which we have already assigned, a measure fraught with wisdom, and favourable to liberty. The preserving distinct the electoral and administrative powers was equally judicious. The mode of electing by primary and secondary assemblies, was assuredly the only adequate means of obviating the fatal effects of faction and venality. As to the basis on which the representation was formed, many doubts will be entertained by politicians concerning its expediency; the adjusting of it to three principles is certainly a complex mode of proceeding; nor will it be easy to assign a reason why it should not have been instituted on the simple and obvious principle of population; or rather, of territory regulated as to the number of representatives by the ratio of population.

After all that had been performed by the assembly, the utter derangement of the finances, and the actual deficiency of means to supply the exigencies of the

nation, threatened loudly the destruction of the state. In this difficult and hazardous predicament, the popular party resolved upon a bold and dangerous measure, which no apology can justify, and which it would not be easy even to excuse; and this was, to sacrifice the estates of the church to the exigencies of the state*.

The most singular circumstance attending this unprecedented alienation is, that it was first proposed by an ecclesiastic. The young and ardent bishop of Autun, M. Talleyrand Perigord, whose appointment was already considerable, and whose rank and abilities afforded him the most brilliant prospects in the ecclesiastical career, ascended the tribune on the 10th of October; and after stating the necessities of the nation, the exhausted state of the finances, and utter impossibility of remedying them by any thing but a strong measure; with a disinterestedness which astonished the assembly, and with a boldness which for the moment silenced opposition, he observed that the state had yet an immense resource in the possessions of the clergy. He asserted, that the revenues of the clergy are at the disposition of the nation; that all sinecures might and ought to be suppressed; and that the right which every ecclesiastic possessed in the revenues of his church was limited to that of a decent subsistence. The annual revenue of the church he estimated at one hundred and fifty millions; one hundred millions of which he proposed to appropriate still to the purposes of public worship, and fifty to the public service.

* The extreme necessities of the state was the apology that was urged for this flagrant act of injustice; but though we are far from wishing to countenance the vulgar opinion "that the French are a nation of atheists," yet it is too certain that many of their leaders were of that description, and this most impolitic measure we are inclined to think originated in the *irreligious prejudices* of some of its projectors. However this may be, it has had the most fatal consequences.—It shews what bad politicians *infidels* are, and how improper to be entrusted with the important business of legislating for a great nation.

This,

This, with a vigorous exertion of public economy, he asserted, would supply the annual deficit, and would redeem the heavy and oppressive salt-tax, and the sale of offices. His speech contained many other matters in detail, and appeared of such importance that it was ordered to be printed.

The discussion was continued at intervals to the 2d of November; the speakers for the affirmative were Messrs. Thouret, Garat, Mirabeau, Barnave, Gouttes, and Dillon; and it was opposed by M. Montlauser, the viscount de Mirabeau, the abbes Maury, Montesquieu, d'Aymar, and the archbishop of Aix. On the one side it was urged, that it was evident the clergy had not a full title as proprietors in the church lands, because no ecclesiastic could sell or dispose of them; that public utility is the supreme law, and ought not to be weighed in a balance against a superstitious regard to what was called the will of the founders; as if a few weak and injudicious individuals ought to bind the nation and posterity; that foundations multiplied by vanity, if suffered to be of eternal duration, would in time absorb the whole property of a nation; as for instance, if every person that ever lived had a sepulchre, there would have been a necessity for overthrowing these barren monuments in order to find lands for cultivation. They distinguished the estates of the clergy into three kinds; those which were bestowed by the kings, by aggregate corporations, and by individuals. The foundations made by the kings could be only made in the name of the nation, by dismembering the public estate. Those which are made by aggregate bodies fall under the same predicament; every such gift was the undoubted deed, that is, the undoubted property, of the nation.

With respect to the donations of individuals, it was asked, what is property in general? It is a right given by the laws and convention of a state to an individual, to possess

possess exclusively what in a state of nature would have been the property of all, or of any other person; it is an estate acquired in virtue of the laws*. No law of the nation, it was urged, had constituted the clergy a permanent body; they were created by the nation, they might be destroyed by the nation. This every founder must have seen; and must have seen that it was not in his power to trespass on the rights of the nation. The clergy, it was asserted, were the servants of the state, were authorised to demand a subsistence from the state; and consequently, if they possessed property, it could be for no other purpose than to relieve the public from the charge. The same observations were applied to whatever estates might have been acquired by the economy or diligence of the ecclesiastics themselves; and it was asked, whether it was not of importance to religion and morals, that a more equal distribution of the ecclesiastical revenues should henceforward reward the industrious, and restrain the luxury of those who were a disgrace to the sacred order?

The advocates of the clergy, on the other hand, maintained, that their opponents had grounded their arguments on a principle which was drawn from the dark and abstract subtleties of metaphysics, in opposition to the dictates of common sense, the evidence of history, and

* Though we endeavour as completely as is consistent with our limits to give an abstract of the arguments that were stated in the assembly on every important question, we would not be understood to assent to all that we quote. The sentiment we have just repeated is wretched sophistry; and if it was admitted, it would follow that a legislature might at any time enact an Agrarian law, which would be the most outrageous act of tyranny and injustice. It is not true that property has merely *originated* from the law; but, on the contrary, one great end and reason for the *institution* of laws is the *protection* of *property*. We would neither adopt the language of the national assembly nor of Mr. Burke—Man has imprescriptible rights—God forbid it was otherwise! and one of these is the *right of property*.

the

the universal practice of mankind; that unless the rights of property were held sacred, civil society was dissolved, the confidence which ought to be its support was for ever removed, and men sunk again into a state of nature, that is, of barbarism and rapine; that the estates of the clergy were never actually possessed by the nation; and were sanctioned by the same titles, the same authorities, as the estates of private citizens; a part was obtained by bequest or assignment, and a part was the effect of economy and industry in the clergy themselves; that to deprive the church of its property was to annihilate it; that infinite scandal would accrue to the nation from such a measure; and that religion itself would receive a fatal wound. The clergy concluded by offering a quarter of their revenues to supply the deficiency of the finances, and, if that should not be sufficient, a half; but the offer was most imprudently rejected, and it was decreed, "that the estates of the church were at the disposal of the nation, which undertakes to provide for the decent support of the clergy; and that in consequence no clergyman ought to possess less in any parish than 1200, livres or 60l. per annum, independent of the parsonage-house, garden, glebe, &c.

While the discussion concerning the estates of the clergy was in agitation, the assembly abolished formally *lettres de cachet* and all arbitrary imprisonment; decreed, that from henceforth no man could be imprisoned but for offences against the laws; and appointed a committee for enquiring into the offences of persons detained in the state prisons. They also abolished the difference of habit which marked the different orders in the national assembly. They refused to invest their own members with any peculiar immunities; and in particular *disclaimed the privilege of franking letters*. An inquiry into the nature and amount of the pensions laid out of the public funds was also instituted, and a committee appointed for the purpose. The

The decree concerning the clergy was followed on the 3d by another, which suspended the parliaments from the exercise of their functions; and on the 5th the final blow was given to the feudal system, and all its consequences, by the famous decree which utterly abolished all distinction of orders.

It is evident that measures so hostile to the interests of so many individuals, possessed both of consequence and power, could not be suffered without opposition. The bishop of Treguier was one of the first to draw the sword of hostility against the assembly; he publicly declaimed against all the measures of the new legislature, represented them as fatal to religion, and as reversing the whole system of government. About the same period, a considerable number of the members of the parliament of Thoulouse, who styled themselves of the order of nobility, published an invitation to the clergy and the *tiers etat*, to unite with them in an effort "to restore to religion its beneficial influence; to the laws, their force and action; to the monarch, his liberty and lost authority."

But what might appear more formidable still, was the convoking of the ancient provincial states. Those of Bearn were actually assembled. Those of Dauphine convoked themselves also without the king's authority; and, contrary to their own positive resolution, they restored the distinction of orders in their form of assembling. The states of Cambray protested against the decree concerning the church lands. In Britany also some strong efforts of party were made, which could scarcely fail to intimidate a body less resolute than the national assembly.

The parliaments were not backward in joining this league against the new arrangements. The chamber of vacations at Rouen registered indeed the law which suspended their powers, but transmitted a secret protest to the king, who, justly irritated at such a proceeding, immediately

immediately laid it before the assembly. So decisive a defiance of the legislative authority demanded exemplary punishment; and the assembly resolved, "that this protest should be forthwith submitted to the tribunal, which for the time had cognizance of the crimes of leze-nation; and that the king should be entreated to name another chamber of vacations which might register without any comment the decree of the 3d of November." So decided a step had its due effect upon the refractory parliament. Instead of persisting in its opposition, its first step was to endeavour to explain away the malignant spirit of the protest; to represent, that the decree was registered in the fairest and most simple manner; and that the paper in question was meant merely as a testimony of respect to his majesty. Satisfied with this submission, the king wrote to the president with his own hand, soliciting the pardon of the offending chamber of vacations, which, after some debate, was at length accorded. The parliament of Metz, in the same spirit but with less violence, protested against the decree which suspended its functions; the assembly ordered the offending members to their bar; but the parliament finding little support from the people, and terrified for the consequences, applied to the municipality to intercede with the legislative body in their favour. A decree of amnesty was therefore passed, and the pardon of the magistrates granted to the entreaty of the citizens.

In Provence, and particularly at Marseilles, commotions were excited by a fatal jealousy between the members of the parliament and the municipality. A cat was hanged by the populace at Marseilles, and the aristocratic party insisted upon it that the execution was emblematical. The intendant of the city was particularly odious to the people, and he requested a military force to assist him in preserving order. The military were received with infinite courtesy by the inhabitants; but the harmony was not

not of long continuance; for the disturbances broke out afresh, on an attempt being made by M. Caraman, the commander of the troops, to reform the constitution of the national guard. An invitation was posted up in the different parts of the city, requiring the citizens to repair to the turret to oppose this reform. Thither immediately the military was ordered, and one of the citizens was killed. The people carried his body through the streets, and entered the house of an obnoxious person, M. la Fleche; the military were again called out, and twenty-three persons were arrested. The severity of the prevot-general, M. Bournisac, in prosecuting on account of these commotions, and his injustice in directing accusations against innoxious citizens who were guiltless of every public offence, continued to promote instead of appeasing the troubles. The indignation of the national assembly was at length roused by these proceedings. The prosecution of the offenders was taken out of the hands of M. Bournisac, and referred to the seneschal court of Marseilles, and peace was once more established.

It was natural, in such a state of things, that jealousies should arise between the people and the soldiery; and these jealousies were certainly fomented with industry by the enemies of the new constitution. At Toulon, M. Albert de Rioms, commandant of the marine, a man of high military reputation, but supposed to be infected with aristocratical prejudices, offended the populace by expressing himself in a contemptuous manner of the national guard, and prohibiting the workmen in the arsenal from wearing the national cockade. His rashness, however, had nearly cost him his life; a mob assembled, and, but for the prudence of the national guard, would have sacrificed him to their resentment. He and four of his principal officers, who were accused of having given orders to fire on the people, were committed to prison to wait the decision of the assembly; and the legislative

lative body judging favourably of the motives of M. Albert, and probably wishing to provoke as little as possible the resentment of any party, passed a decree favourable to the restoration of tranquillity, and liberated the officers.

About the same time a melancholy event, the effect of private revenge, took place at Senlis, which, from the vicinity of that place to Paris, made the greater impression. A soldier, who had been discharged from the national troops, fired on a procession of the citizens as they passed by the house in which he was. An immense multitude rushed impetuously in to seize the culprit; when the house, by design, as was generally believed, blew up, and no less than sixty persons lost their lives, and an immense number were wounded by the explosion.

While the provinces were agitated by these and similar events, the national assembly was divided by contending parties, and not less by the interested contests of private ambition. Among the most important discussions at this period, was that which regarded the eligibility of the executive ministers to seats in the legislative assembly. It was about the beginning of November that the count de Mirabeau, after a long discourse upon the state of the nation and the finances, proposed three motions for the consideration of the assembly: the first regarded the supply of corn and bread; the second contained a proposal for establishing a national bank; and the third imported, "that his majesty's ministers should be invited to a consultative voice in the assembly, till the constitution should have determined the rules by which they were to be governed." So strange a combination as that of the last article with two motions which simply regarded the finance, could not fail to alarm the popular party; and as the count de Mirabeau was not suspected of the purest motives, the discussion of the two first propositions was
soon

soon abandoned to make room for the third, which appeared of the greatest magnitude and importance to the nation. It was spiritedly attacked by Messrs. *Blin*, *Custine*, *de Richier*, *d'Estourmel*, and the viscount de *Noailles*; and it was supported by *M. M. Montmorenci*, *Garat, jun.* by the duke de la *Rochefoucault*, count *Clermont Tonnerre*, and others.

An adjournment was proposed; and the debate was renewed with considerable spirit the following day, on an amendment proposed by *M. Lanjuinais*, which excluded completely the members of the national assembly, and for three years after they ceased to be members, from any share in the executive government. By the party which supported the admissibility of ministers to the legislature, it was pleaded, that the presence of ministers was frequently required for the purpose of information; that it would give a dignity and splendour to the officers of the crown; that the public service ought not to deprive any citizen of his rights, and there were none better qualified to legislate than those who were generally appointed to the high offices of the state. In defence of the motion of *M. de Mirabeau* in particular it was contended, that in all events it was only a mere temporary measure, and that to this moment no person had doubted of the propriety of the members of the states-general acting in a public capacity. On the other hand it was urged, with scarcely less force and energy, that the admission of ministers to a seat and a voice among the representatives of the people, effectually confounded what ought to be preserved essentially distinct, the legislative and executive powers; that the servants of the crown could not without manifest injury be admitted to participate in the highest prerogative, that of legislation. The example of England was adduced as an instance of the ill effects of this system, where two factions are continually kept up in the legislative body; that of the ministers, who are endeavouring to keep their places, and that

that of the opposition, or those whose endeavour it is to perplex and embarrass the agents of the executive power, in order that they may seize the vacant offices. The count de Mirabeau, highly exasperated, at length moved, "that the motion should only extend to the exclusion of M. Lanjuinais and *himself* from the ministry." It was, however, finally determined in favour of the motion of M. Lanjuinais; and this addition, with respect to the present constituting assembly, "that no member could accept of any place in the ministry."

Another determination, which was effected with more complete unanimity, will probably meet with more general approbation. The island of Corsica, from the period in which it was conquered, had never been firmly attached to the old government of France, and had been retained in subjection only by the strong fetters of military despotism. They had never ratified the infamous contract by which a nation was transferred, like a flock of sheep, from the dominion of Genoa to that of France. The meeting of the states-general had revived within the bosoms of these brave men the untamed spirit of liberty, and the hope of being once more reinstated in their rights. These hopes were succeeded by a sinister rumour, that they were once more to be ceded to the detested domination of Genoa; or, that at least they were to be still retained as a servile appendage to a land of freedom. In such a state of doubt and perplexity, the passions of the multitude are easily excited. They proposed immediately to form a national guard. The citizens of Bastia assembled for that purpose in the parish church of St. John. The army marched to disperse them, and in the contest some lives were lost. In this state of ferment the island remained, when a deputation appeared at the bar of the assembly, entreating, in the name of the people of Corsica, that they might be irrevocably united by a decree of the legislature to the French nation, as a constituent part of the empire. Such
a request

a request was too reasonable and too flattering to the assembly not to be instantly complied with; and this was followed by a motion of the count de Mirabeau (who lamented that his youth had been disgraced by participating in the conquest of this island) to restore all who had emigrated, except on account of civil crimes, to their rank, their rights, and their property.

Notwithstanding all that had been effected in favour of the people, the state still continued to be oppressed under an intolerable weight of distress, occasioned by the total disorder of the finances. The public deficiency was an immense gulf, which no patriotic sacrifice was powerful enough to close, and the pecuniary embarrassments of the nation seemed rather to increase. The current specie of the country was swept away by emigration; and the royal treasury was exhausted by the purchase of corn and provisions. A miracle was necessary to reinstate the public affairs, and this miracle was expected from the minister of finance. But, in such a state of things, what could human wisdom or human foresight effect? In the midst of alarms, of suspicions, of discredit, it was impossible to enter upon any new or extraordinary measure for reinstating the wealth and resources of the nation: the minister, therefore, instead of producing a new and complete system of national finance, embraced that remedy which appeared most adapted to the circumstances; and, amidst a number of difficulties, made choice of that which appeared to be fraught with least danger and inconvenience. The *casse d'escompte*, though not strictly a national institution, had been a favourite with most of the ministers from the period of its institution; it had occasionally rendered service to the state: and, at the period of which we are now treating, the nation was indebted to it in no less a sum than seventy millions. The idea of a national bank had for some years been extremely popular in France. In compliance,
therefore,

therefore, with the popular voice, and as the only means of furnishing the nation with resources, M. Necker proposed the establishment of one; and for the basis of this establishment he was desirous of taking an institution to which the public had so many obligations, and wished, in a word, to convert the *caisse d'escompte* into a national bank. In opposition to this plan two obstacles presented themselves; the credit of the *caisse d'escompte* was extremely low; and therefore it was neither easy to force its notes into circulation, nor to protract the period when it should be called upon to convert them into specie. After much discussion in the assembly, it was determined in part to adopt the plan of the minister, to act with justice towards the *caisse d'escompte*, to provide the nation with a temporary supply, and to derive as speedy advantages as might be from the immense landed property of the king and of the clergy. Two decrees to this effect were passed on the 19th of December, the particulars of which it would be tedious to detail: the first gave currency to the notes of the *caisse d'escompte*, stipulating at the same time, that it should furnish the national treasury with eighty millions for the current year, which were to be reimbursed, together with the old debt, by assignats on the *caisse de l'extraordinaire*: and the second created a *caisse de l'extraordinaire*, in which all patriotic donations were to be funded, and which was to take charge of the sale of the national domains, and from these resources to answer ultimately the exigencies of the public.

This plan was no sooner carried into execution, than a profusion of patriotic donations flowed into the assembly. Even foreigners, affected with the same generous enthusiasm, were desirous of participating in the glory of giving liberty to France, and extricating those noble assertors of freedom from the difficulties that beset them. The city of Neuchatel, among others, presented the nation

a quarter of its revenue, which was accepted with gratitude: but adonation of 900,000 livres offered by the republic of Geneva met with a very different reception. The ruling party of that city were considered as usurpers, who by the force of arms had seized the government in 1782, and had attained it in opposition to the rights of the citizens. With a unanimity reputable to their feelings, the assembly refused the donation, declaring, that the representatives of the French nation could not accept of a present from the oppressors of Geneva.

The patriotism and virtue of the assembly were put to a severer trial on the 10th of December. The revolted states of Brabant and Flanders were naturally led to look up to the assertors of the Gallic liberty, as protectors and allies. M. Vandernoot, therefore, who assumed the title and character of agent plenipotentiary of Brabant, transmitted to the king and the legislative body the manifesto of those newly created states. The first impulse of the people demanded the immediate recognition of the liberty and independence of the Austrian Netherlands; but the assembly had the courage and the prudence to resist this impulse; and conscious that the state was unprepared for a general continental war, in which such a step must infallibly involve them, and yet unwilling to declare themselves the immediate partisans of despotism, deferred opening the dispatch till a remote period.

The examples of the rebellious parliaments of Metz and Rouen did not deter that of Britany from following their example; with this additional mark of contumacy, that the chamber of vacations there did not satisfy itself with a protest against the authority of the legislature, but positively refused to register the edict which suspended them from the exercise of their functions. On being ordered to the bar of the assembly, they pleaded that the term for the exercise of their power was expired, and therefore they could not perform any legal act; but justified

fied the measure still further by a reference to the old charters and statutes of Britany. The consequence was, that, being a second time ordered to the bar, they were deprived formally of the rights of active citizens, till by a solemn act they should declare their submission; and a temporary chamber was established for the administration of justice in Britany.

The corruption which had pervaded all the old tribunals of justice, indeed, appeared scarcely less to attach to that of the Chatelet than to the provincial administrations. In acquitting the baron Bazerval, marshal Broglio, and the prince de Lambesq, they at once asserted the sacred independence of the laws, and demonstrated their own regard to justice. To condemn the servants of an existing government for obedience to the commands of their superiors, is to punish the guiltless, while the really criminal escape; and to try men for offences against the rights of the people, while the actual constitution of the country has denied them any, is to try them by an *ex post facto* law. But, in the sacrifice of the marquis de Favras, this tribunal forfeited the honour it would otherwise have acquired in the eyes of good men, and enveloped their own proceedings in a veil of mystery unbecoming a free government, and which fixes an indelible stain upon their own characters.

This unfortunate gentleman inherited from nature an enterprising genius, and an exalted ambition. He had been successively a captain of dragoons, and first lieutenant of the Swiss guards in the service of Monsieur. He had married a princess of Anhalt Schaamburgh, who had been persecuted by her family on account of her attachment to the Roman catholic religion; and, by his spirit and address, had obtained an imperial rescript to oblige the prince her father to allow his daughter a pension of one thousand florins. The marquis de Favras engaged deeply in the troubles of Holland in 1785; and having

undertaken to raise a regiment for the service of the patriotic party, he formed a connection with a M. Tourcaty, who engaged to furnish him with troops. The peace, however, which was forced upon the Dutch by the military mediation of the king of Prussia, disconcerted his projects, and induced him to turn his attention to the insurrection in Brabant, as a proper field for the display of his talents. His patriotic connections in these countries, however, had not converted him to the democratic side of the question in his own. Connected by birth in the aristocracy, and in habits of intimacy with the great men of the court, he was supposed to have been privy to the plan of carrying off the king to Metz. He was one of the first to wear the white cockade on the 2d of October; and on the 5th he had requested M. de St. Priest to furnish him and a number of volunteers with horses from the royal stables, in order to disperse the rabble, and deprive them of their artillery.

After the establishment of the king and the assembly at Paris, the marquis de Favras was accused of entering into a further conspiracy, the object of which was to engage a number of men, under the pretence of raising a regiment for the service of Brabant, who were to enter Paris by different ways, to massacre M. de la Fayette, M. Bailly, and M. Neckar, and with or without his consent convey the king to Peronne. Monsieur, the king's brother, was also suspected of being at the head of this conspiracy. In the course of his proceedings, he renewed his connection with Tourcaty, in order to engage his services in raising men: this person had introduced him to another of the name of Morel. These were his principal agents; and in concert with these men he actually applied to M. Chomel, a monied man in Paris, to negotiate a loan in the name of Monsieur.

The news of this supposed conspiracy was no sooner abroad, than the whole city was in a state of confusion.

Monsieur

Monseigneur flew to the Hôtel de Ville, to explain to the magistrates the nature of his connection with M. de Favras. He stated, that in 1772 that the gentleman entered into his Swiss guards, and declined the service in 1775, from which time he had never spoken with him. That finding himself disappointed from the troubles of the nation in the collection of his revenues, and not wishing to apply to the public treasury, he determined to solicit a private loan; that M. de Favras had been recommended as a proper person to negotiate this business, and had actually effected it with Messieurs Chomel and Sertorius, bankers; but that he had never had any personal communication with the marquis de Favras on this affair, or on any other. He appealed, in his justification, to his conduct in the assembly of notables; and assured the magistrates, that he had ever been a most firm friend to the revolution. The discourse of Monseigneur appeared to satisfy both the magistrates and the national assembly, though some of the patriotic writers have still continued to doubt of his innocence.

M. de Favras was arrested on the 26th of December, but was not brought to trial before the 9th of February following. The principal evidences against him were Tourcaty and Morel, who stated the facts, which have been already related, in accusation; and these were corroborated by the testimony of a M. Marquié, who had been a serjeant in the French guards, had distinguished himself in the taking of the Bastille, and was now sub-lieutenant of one of the centre companies. On the 6th of October this person had been extremely active in saving the lives of the gardes-du-corps; and in conducting the king to Paris, was observed to shed tears. It appeared that the marquis de Favras had had some interviews in private with M. Marquié, in which he attempted to infuse into his mind suspicious that the French guards were no longer to be entrusted with the honour of guard-

ing their monarch, which was to be committed entirely to the citizens; he insinuated, that they ought to resume their former appellation; and presented him with a pamphlet, the title of which was, "*Open your Eyes.*" To all this the marquis replied, in his defence, that considering himself, as he was, without money, without men; with no confidants but two such persons as Tourcaty and Morel, the gross absurdity of projecting such a plot as he was accused of was a sufficient answer to the calumny; and observed, that the evidences of the two first witnesses was so contradictory and inconsistent with each other, that their testimony ought to be considered as of no weight.

A third witness, more favourable than any of the others, was however produced, and this was M. Chomel. He did not pretend that M. Favras had communicated to him any particulars similar to those which were stated by the other witnesses; but asserted, that he had talked with him of a much more feasible project, which was, to assemble all the discontented party on the frontier of the Netherlands, under a pretence of taking part in that dispute, until they should form an army strong enough to invade France from different quarters; which was to be followed by a reinstatement of the parliaments, and all the different branches of the old government which had been destroyed.

On the first day of the trial of M. de Favras, the mob had attempted riotously to assemble; but they were dispersed by the masterly conduct of M. de la Fayette, and the fidelity of the French guards, and long before his condemnation the city was restored to perfect tranquillity.

It is plain the evidence against this unhappy gentleman was by no means sufficiently decisive to justify a verdict against him. At the most his crime was little more than conversation, the expression of a wish to overturn the government, without the least probability of success in the

the execution of it: even this, however, he most strenuously denied. He asserted, that he was not disaffected to the new order of things, and only wished to see his sovereign enjoy in safety and tranquillity that share of authority which was consistent with a free government; and that, in all the projects he had ever entertained concerning the levying of troops, he had nothing further in view than to push his fortune in the service of Brabant. He pleaded his cause with all the energy and confidence of conscious innocence, with all the eloquence and argument of a most accomplished mind—in vain. The temper of the people, it was supposed, required a victim, and this corrupt tribunal was determined it should not want one. He was found guilty, and condemned to be executed on the 19th of the same month. If we may credit the report of ocular witnesses, there never was displayed a greater vigour of mind, greater force of character, or more exalted courage, than was manifest in the conduct of the unfortunate convict, at a moment the most trying for human nature. From that period to his execution his fortitude never forsook him. On the fatal day he was dressed at an early hour, and with peculiar decency and care. He requested that he might be attended in his last moments by the curate of St. Paul's church, and professed, with a sober but fervent piety, his firm belief in the great truths of the gospel, and his hope of a joyful resurrection. He was drawn in a cart to the place of execution, his head and feet naked, his hair loose and flowing, and dressed, agreeable to the sentence, in a white robe over his own clothes. When arrived before the principal gate of Notre Dame, he desired to be conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where he would reveal, he said, important secrets. He there dictated, with his usual calmness, a long protestation of his innocence. He declared that neither in July, September, nor October, he had been privy to any conspiracy to carry off the king. His earnestness

earnestness in the king's service on the 5th of October had pointed him out, he said, to a great lord who was engaged about the king's person, as a proper man to observe the motions of the populace. This great person (probably the prince de Luxembourg) was, at that time, apprehensive of an insurrection in the suburb of St. Antoine; he therefore employed M. Favras to procure intelligence, in order that, in such a case, measures might be taken for the king's safety, and presented him with one hundred louis to discharge his expences in this inquiry. On this account, and on this only, he declared he had applied to Tourcaty and Morel, and had sounded M. Marquié with respect to the sentiments of the French guards. It is said moreover, but on what authority we cannot ascertain, that he asked the judge who attended him on the occasion, "whether, if he were to explain more openly, it would make any alteration in his favour?" and that, upon the judge assuring him that it was impossible to defer the execution of the sentence, he replied, "In that case, my secret shall die with me."

At eight o'clock in the evening M. de Favras descended from the Hôtel de Ville, and proceeded to the place of execution (surrounded with lamps and torches) with a firm step, and with the utmost composure exhorted his friends not to lament his fate. The whole of the ferocious multitude, who waited for and rejoiced in his death, was moved. The curate of St. Paul fainted. When at the foot of the scaffold, the marquis exclaimed, "Citizens, I die an innocent man. Pray for me." The whole assembly trembled; the executioner himself was overwhelmed with emotions of grief; the most awful silence ensued for some minutes, and was only broken by the intrepid sufferer himself, calling out to the executioner to do his duty. After hanging the usual time, his body was delivered to his friends.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate nobleman;—
 merited, certainly, if we are to judge only from the
 evidence

evidence which is before the public; and if among his papers, which were seized, any more convincing testimonies were found, they ought to have been fairly exhibited to the world, whatever the rank of the persons they might involve. Either the public ought to have been satisfied of the guilt of M. de Favras, or he ought to have been acquitted. What is most extraordinary is, that about the same period a M. Augéard was accused before the tribunal of a similar crime; and a project in his own hand writing for carrying off the King to Metz was produced, which project he had himself communicated to M. de Clermont Tonnerre; and yet, difficult as it may be to reconcile such contradictions, this man was solemnly acquitted, while the elegant and accomplished Favras was condemned and executed.

While the Chatelet was thus ignominiously employed, the national assembly was proceeding in their patriotic labours. Several decrees which reflect honour on their liberality of sentiment were passed. Among these we shall only mention the decree which declares all persons, whether professing the catholic religion or not, eligible to all offices and employments of the state; and that which abolished the barbarous feudal principle, which attached infamy to the descendants of persons executed for crimes, and which, with us, is still retained under the unphilosophical term, *corruption of blood*. On the 4th of February the king voluntarily repaired to the national assembly; and lamenting in a long discourse, the malignant efforts of the enemies of the new constitution, he declared solemnly, that he would defend it to the last moment of his existence; and that in concert with the queen, it should be his constant endeavour to educate his children in the sacred love of liberty. The applause which was bestowed on this discourse was mingled with tears of joy and gratitude. As soon as the king was retired, the assembly decreed a most loyal address; and profiting by the occasion, it was also determined

determined to administer immediately to all the members present the civic oath, and it was enacted that those who were absent should not be permitted to take any part in the deliberations till they had submitted to a similar ceremony. The example was followed by the whole city of Paris; and at the same time an address to the provinces was decreed by the assembly, to announce what they had already effected, and what they still proposed to do for the entire regeneration of the empire.

The disorders of the kingdom had not yet subsided. At Beziers a riot was occasioned by the seizure of some contraband salt; and five persons were hanged by the mob. The castles of the nobility in many parts of the kingdom were pillaged; nor did those of the most decided patriots escape. That of M. Charles Lameth was plundered; and that of the duke d'Aiguillon was threatened, but was saved by the activity of the national guard. As the only remedy, therefore, to these disgraceful proceedings, the assembly was obliged, in addition to the riot act formerly mentioned, to pass a decree, which made the municipality responsible for whatever damages might ensue from riotous assemblies of the people in any part of the kingdom.

The continuance of these acts of violence furnished the parliament of Bourdeaux with a pretext for exciting the country against a new constitution: and a kind of report was drawn up by the chamber of vacations there, of the grievances which the new arrangements had brought upon the country. As soon as this matter was known to the national assembly, it was agitated with much violence for some days; but they at length dismissed the magistrates of the parliament with a gentle reproof.

If the gentlemen of the robe contended with their usual chicanery and address, the opposition of the clergy was not less violent. It must indeed be confessed, that the property which the latter had at stake was much
more

more considerable than that of the former; and their claim to that property was much stronger than that which the legal profession advanced in favour of their monopoly of justice. These clamours were increased by the apprehension that the church lands were speedily to be put to sale; and as a preparatory step, the abolition of monastic vows and orders was agitated in the assembly. After a clamorous debate upon this subject, which in its own nature scarcely admitted of any, it was decreed, "that in future the assembly would sanction no monastic vows in persons of either sex: that the monastic orders were from that moment suppressed in France: that every individual confined in monasteries, of either sex, might be immediately released from their monastic obligations, by giving in their declaration to the municipality, and that such should be entitled to a certain pension; but that houses should be provided for the reception and support of such as should not be disposed to take advantage of this decree."

During the discussion of this topic in the assembly a voice was heard, requiring that a decree should be passed, solemnly declaring that the Roman catholic religion was the established religion of the state; and this was followed by a violent clamour, that the church was in danger. M. Dupont replied, that there could not be a doubt that the Roman catholic religion was the religion of the state, since they had appropriated more than 80,000,000 (or four millions sterling) annually to its support. To put an entire termination, however, to all similar debates, the assembly decreed, "that the attachment of the nation to the Roman catholic religion ought not to be doubted, since the support of that form of worship held the first rank in the public expences."

These proceedings were speedily followed by a decree, authorising the sale of the church lands to the amount of eighty millions of livres; to be disposed of from time to
time

time as the legislature should direct. In the mean time it was determined, that a number of assignats, or notes of credit upon these lands, to be accepted in payment on their sale, should be issued into circulation. Some regulations were also made respecting the ransom of the feudal rights, and the temporary administration of the tithes.

Several other financial arrangements were adopted for the ease and convenience of the people, and for the encouragement of commerce. The taxes upon leather, oil, soap, starch, and iron, were all abolished. But the most popular step of the legislature was to annihilate for ever the odious and oppressive *droit de gabelle*, or salt-tax, which had for ages been the cause of continual seditions among the people. These were replaced by a small addition to the territorial taxes. The tax on tobacco has since been abolished; and from that period tobacco and salt have become, what they were not before, considerable articles of commerce in France. In fine, that no unlawful restriction should remain upon commerce, the trade to the East Indies was declared free and open to the whole nation.

In the mean time the assembly was not inattentive to that great and necessary task, the reform of the jurisprudence. In almost every nation of Europe the laws are founded upon an equivocal basis; the structure is heterogeneous and inconsistent, and the practice consequently difficult, expensive, and uncertain. They are either founded upon the voluminous code of the Roman law, or they are derived from feudal principles, which are now obsolete and barbarous. Thus the sources of European jurisprudence have no connection or analogy with the manners or the spirit of the times; and the practice of the courts is necessarily some-times in contradiction to the principles of the feudal laws, and at others absurdly directed by them. The precedents which are founded upon these uncertain and obsolete principles are too voluminous

minous to be useful, too contradictory to be just. The laws themselves, instead of being simple, and obvious to the capacities of the people, are more deeply involved in mystery than the most abstruse speculations of school divinity; they are studied, not to be understood, but to be disputed; and the people are governed by a collection of maxims of which they know as little as of the code of China or Indostan. In no country was this the case more than in France, and in scarcely any were the expences of lawsuits more grievously oppressive. The assembly at once simplified the laws; and placed justice within the reach of the poor, by ordering that it should be *gratuitously administered*. It restored the excellent institution of juries in criminal cases; though, for what reason it would be difficult to devise, they omitted to extend that institution to civil causes, where it is still more essential to an uncorrupt administration of justice.

The abolition of the feudal tenures affected materially the revenues of some of the princes of Germany who had possessions in France: to these the French legislature decreed a compensation; but the prejudices or the policy of those noblemen did not permit them to accept of any.

In the regulation of their own West India colonies a still more difficult task was imposed upon the national assembly; and as these affairs have been much spoken of, but not generally understood, we shall endeavour to state them as authentically as we can, and as copiously as our limits will admit. When the national assembly first proclaimed the rights of men and citizens, the sugar islands trembled, in the apprehension that the two most cruel outrages against humanity, slavery and the slave trade, were about to be abolished. The enlightened policy of the united states of America had set the example; and a considerable majority of the people of Great Britain demanded the abolition of the slave trade with a
peremptory

peremptory voice. The most unjust suspicions had pervaded the islands of the intentions of the negroes; which united to the distrust in which the planters held the views of the assembly, contributed to produce a general ferment in the minds of the white inhabitants.

St. Domingo above all was destined to be the fatal theatre of commotion and of bloodshed. This island is divided into three provinces, the north, the south, and the west; but these are united under one governor-general, and one intendant. It appears that so early as the month of June 1789, the deputies from this island negotiated with the minister of marine concerning the new form of government which was intended for the colony. It was, however, the 27th of September before any thing decisive was determined; and then the minister of marine addressed to the governor and intendant an order to convoke the inhabitants for the purpose of forming a legislative assembly for interior regulation, &c.

The minister's letter arrived too late in the island; three committees were already formed for three provinces; those of the south and west still preserved a communication with the administration, and with the metropolis; but that of the north, which was assembled at the Cape, manifested very different principles. It declared that the full power of the northern province was legally vested in itself, and that any other assembly would be seditious, and would rather obstruct than promote the re-establishment of order. It presumed to control the executive government; it continued in their functions *for a time* the public officers; but it nevertheless intercepted the ministerial dispatches, made some alteration in the taxes, and in the administration of justice; it even imprisoned M. Dubois, deputy procureur-general, for having said that the slavery of the negroes was an infraction of general liberty. The necessary consequence was a contest between the committee and the executive power. M. Peynier,

Peynier, the governor, annulled by a decree of the supreme council all the resolutions of the committee; forbade the imprisonment of M. Dubois, and ordered an account of all these facts to be transmitted to the national assembly. On the other hand, the decree of the governor and council was declared invalid by the rebellious assembly, who chose a commander in chief of their militia, and were proceeding to hostile measures; but the prudence and moderation of M. Peynier for a while at least repressed their violence.

The free people of colour (so all the shades between black and white are termed) who formed a considerable part of the population, and possessed a great share of the property of the island, conducted themselves in a very different manner. The unjust arrogance of the whites had placed them in a state of degradation, and insulted with opprobrium every person who bore the smallest relation to the despised African race. As the abolition of all absurd and oppressive prejudices was one of the first principles sanctioned by the French revolution, these depreciated persons were induced to hope that the day was at hand when a barbarous prejudice, which branded them with the seal of infamy, should no longer exist. In the course of November 1789, the people of colour were assembled in the different parishes for the purpose of advancing a modest claim to the common rights of citizens, and on the 19th they presented an humble memorial to the assembly adapted to that purpose. Such an act of insolence, as it was termed, irritated at once the offended pride of the whites; they caused the deputies to be arrested, and threatened to hang them on the spot, if they refused to disclose the name of the person who drew up their address. It proved to be a M. Ferrand, a procureur of the king. He was therefore immediately sent for and interrogated. He declared, with a becoming firmness, that he was the author of the paper which they
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termed seditious, and proclaimed himself the defender of the cause. Without further ceremony or process, they ordered his head to be struck off by the common executioner, and the sentence was instantly performed.

The outrages and persecution which were commenced upon the people of colour immediately after this transaction knew no bounds. On the nights of the 26th and 27th of November the whites of the committee of Aquin, in three bands, fell upon their habitations, under pretence of searching for treasonable correspondence. Among others, these ruffians repaired to the house of a M. Labadie. This respectable old gentleman was at that moment reposing quietly in his bed. They burst open his door, and informed him, without further preface, that they were come for his head. Five and twenty musquets were instantly fired at him, and his young child was murdered at his side. Though desperately wounded, he had still strength enough left to defend himself; and as they knew he had one hundred and fifty negroes by whom he was adored, and whom a single call would have brought upon them, they consented to a kind of compromise, that they would spare his life for the present, if he would make no resistance, but go along with them and submit to a trial. He was immediately, without dressing his wounds, put to the bar; and after a mock examination his head was about to be taken off, had he not been rescued from the executioner by the intrepidity of a person of the name of Maigret, who came to his assistance at the head of a small party.

With a patience and magnanimity highly honourable to the people of colour, they transmitted an account of these proceedings to the national assembly, and declared that, whatever might be the result of their petition, they would submit to its decision. Such was not the language of the white colonists, of their deputies, and of the merchants who traded with them. They represented all the
proceedings

proceedings of the other party as insolent and treasonable and denounced, no less than destruction on the colony. Should any resolution in favour of the black inhabitants be passed by the legislature.

In this dilemma, the committee appointed by the national assembly for regulating the affairs of the colonies took the unfortunate determination to temporize, and not to effect any thing of a definitive nature. By their recommendation a decree was passed, which "authorized the inhabitants of every colony to make known their sentiments to the assembly, concerning that plan of interior legislation which would be most conducive to their prosperity; which sanctioned the illegal assemblies already elected, and recommended in places where there were none the speedy election of similar bodies. To the decree was annexed a declaration, that the assembly would not innovate directly or indirectly any system of commerce, with which the welfare of the colonies was connected;" which declaration was generally understood as a sanction of the African slave trade.

The decree, which was passed on the 8th of March 1790, was certainly well intended, but it was as certainly a most injurious measure. The assembly had not the daring inhumanity to decree decisively the subjugation of the free people of colour; but it had not the courage to do them justice, to restore to them the common rights of citizens, and annihilate a senseless prejudice founded solely on a difference of complexion. By leaving the adjustment of the government to the colonists themselves, they might be said to have passed an act subversive of all order, and declaratory of civil war; and unfortunately the preliminary article to this adjustment was undefined; for they had left undetermined the description or class of men who were to accomplish the very object of the decree. Hence, and hence only, have originated those dreadful contests and insurrections which have desolated

the island of St. Domingo; consequences which the sagacity and penetration of Mirabeau anticipated, and would have averted. He and M. Cazalés both ascended the tribune to deprecate the passing of the decree; but such was the influence of the colonists in the assembly, that they were not heard.

We have already intimated, that a committee was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the expenditure of the public money in pensions and donations; and it was found that a register was kept by the ministers, under the name of the *red book*, in which every pension or gift was entered in the hand-writing of the comptroller-general of the finances, and checked by the king himself. At the pressing instance of the committee, this book was communicated to them on the 15th of March. The communication was made under strong circumstances of reserve and delicacy. The king entreated that the profuse expences of his grandfather might be kept from the public eye; and the committee promised M. Neckar, it is said, that no part of should be divulged which might in any respect hurt the feelings of his majesty. The possession of such a depository was however too important an advantage in the hands of the popular party not to be employed; it was, therefore, not without surprise and indignation that M. Neckar saw this register in a few days committed to the press; and when he demanded why they had presumed to publish it without the permission of the assembly and the king, he received for answer, "That as to the assembly, they were certain of its approbation; and as to the king, they were not his representatives." Of this proceeding we can only observe, that it would not have been easy for the committee to reconcile the suppression of this catalogue of public depredations with their duty to their constituents; but certainly the publication ought to have been conducted in a manner more honourable to the representatives of a great nation.

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The publication of the red book disclosed a scene of extravagance and iniquity perhaps unparalleled. Such was the profusion of one minister alone (M. Calonne) that under his administration it appeared that, independent of their immense revenues, the two brothers of the king had committed depredations on the public treasury to the amount of nearly *two millions* sterling; that upwards of 1,100,000*l.* of this had fallen to the share of the count d'Artois; and that the same minister, had undertaken moreover to discharge the debts of this prince, amounting to nearly one million sterling besides. Among the donations and benefactions also, some appeared of the most singular description; among others was recorded a present of 600,000*l.* to an individual for his *important services*; and these services so important to the state were, that he was *maitre d'hotel* to his own wife, madame de Polignac!

The disagreement which took place, upon the publication of the red book, between the minister of finance and M. Camus and other members of the committee of pensions, contributed greatly to the destruction of M. Necker's popularity, which was already on the decline. Another objection which was raised against him by his enemies related to his plan of creating a board of treasury, which should have a constant control, and which should be continually occupied in apportioning the expences of the state; but the only circumstance which it appears they were able to insist upon in opposition to this plan of the minister was, that his board was chiefly selected from the members of the national assembly, and they had already decreed that none of their members could accept of appointments under the executive government. Another more reasonable cause, which accelerated the unpopularity of this great and upright minister, was, that he had been forward to promote the creation and circulation of assignats, though it certainly appeared the only

measure which was likely to restore the finances, and retrieve the credit of the nation.

M. Neckar was not the only one of the king's ministers who fell under the displeasure of the people. The comte de St. Priest was suspected (and that was sufficient in France) of treasonable designs. A M. Bonne Savardin, connected with M. Maillebois, had engaged in carrying on a negotiation between that general and the ex-princes, to effect a counter-revolution. Upon an information, however, given to the committee of research by M. Massot de Grand-maison, secretary to M. Maillebois, the whole scheme was detected. The general himself fled; but M. Bonne Savardin was seized, and among his papers were found minutes of a conversation between him and M. St. Priest, which indicated, it was said, some disaffection in that minister. The other members of administration were scarcely more popular; and but little confidence was reposed in the patriotism of either M. de la Tour du Pin or the archbishop of Bourdeaux.

Suspicion and discontent were not indeed confined to the metropolis, but seemed at this unhappy period to pervade the whole kingdom. At Lyons a corps of volunteers was instituted, who refused to mix with the city militia; and but for the judicious conduct of the Swiss regiment d'Ambert, which was quartered there, the whole city might have become the theatre of the most shocking barbarity. At Toulon, a formidable insurrection took place among the workmen in the arsenal, under the pretence of demanding the liberty of three sailors who were confined for some offence, and it was with difficulty quelled by the national guard. At Marseilles two regiments of infantry and two hundred dragoons were stationed under the command of M. d'Ambert, colonel of one of the regiments. This officer is accused of having grossly insulted the national guard.

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B **E** this as it may, his conduct proved in some way offensive to the patriotism or the prejudices of the municipality and the citizens. An order was obtained from the king, for the removal of the regiments; but as the commanders appeared rather tardy in the execution of this order, a troop of young men, to the number of thirty, concerted a stratagem for the purpose of seizing forcibly the fortrefs, and expelling the garrison, which they successfully effected on the night of the 29th of April. The fortrefs, with those of St. Nicholas and St. John, were demolished; on the latter of these forts human nature had been insulted by a Latin inscription, "This tower was erected by Louis XIV. lest his faithful people of Marseilles should become infatuated with the love of liberty."

In a similar insurrection at Valence, the viscount de Voisin was torn by the populace from the hands of the national guard, and murdered. In his pocket the traces of a treasonable correspondence were said to be found; though such evidence, we must confess, ought always to be regarded with suspicion, since, if there is a design to take away the life or character of any man, nothing is more easy than to forge a letter.

On the other hand, the enemies of the revolution were not less forward than their adversaries in exciting disturbances and insurrections. Religion was a pretext which was eagerly seized by the disaffected, and the fanaticism of the multitude was but too successfully wrought on. In the metropolis, the populace took but little interest in the fate of the church; and though the clergy had assembled in the church of the Capuchins, St. Honoré, to protest against the sale of the lands, and the proceedings of the national assembly, their declaration, like all impotent menaces, produced only a smile of contempt. In the course of this proceeding, they reproached the assembly for not having formally declared

a national religion; "Why," said Mirabeau, "have they not reproached us for neglecting to declare that the sun is the star of the nation, and that no other should be acknowledged or permitted to regulate the succession of day and night?"

In the provinces, the efforts of the refractory clergy were more successful. In the south particularly, which had been the theatre of religious war, and where the two parties of catholic and protestant still regarded each other with a due degree of theological animosity, the consequences were truly serious. At Toulouse, the pious season, when they celebrated the massacre of the Albigenes was [chosen for the circulation of an inflammatory address. On the 19th of April a large assembly of fanatics was collected in the hall of the Great Augustins; hence they adjourned under the command of a M. du Barry to the Seneschassée, where the apostle of this crusade, as a master-piece of policy, contrived somewhere to conceal the bust of the king. Some young men of the national guard, however, happening to discover it, fortunately contrived to turn the plot against its author; for immediately on discovering the bust, they drew their sabres, and shouting *Vive le roi!* they forced their officers, and many others who were suspected of evil designs, to take the civic oath. The municipality soon after appeared; and having quelled the tumult, they strictly forbade the renewal of these treasonable assemblies.

What was only a feeble and abortive attempt at Toulouse, was at Montaubon a most alarming commotion. The protestants of that place amounted to about one-sixth of the population. They lived in perfect harmony with the catholics, and composed in conjunction with them the national guard, a body of men devoted to the new constitution and to the service of their country. As it was found impracticable to disseminate

minate the principles of distrust or disunion through this body, a plan was concerted by the aristocratic party to raise up another military force in opposition to it, and a corps of volunteers was instituted. In establishing the municipality also, the same party had taken care to fill the vacant offices with their creatures; and one of the first acts of these magistrates was to demand from the commander of the national guard the keys of the arsenal where the arms were deposited. The requisition was peaceably complied with, and it proved the first effect of a fatal conspiracy. After some other proceedings which indicated a settled system of hostility, about the beginning of April meetings were held in the churches, for the avowed purpose of petitioning the assembly to preserve the episcopal chair of Montauban, and the religious houses: while no means were omitted in these meetings at the same time to inflame the populace against the national guard, as a body chiefly composed of infidels and heretics. In opposition to these hostile steps, the patriotic soldiers adopted in their own defence only the peaceable measure of transmitting to the national assembly an account of these proceedings, and at the same time of endeavouring to prevent the creation of new companies of volunteers, by a declaration that they were ready to enrol in the old companies every citizen who manifests a disposition to serve his country. While affairs remained in this state, the municipality appointed the 10th of May for visiting the five religious communities, and making his inventory of their effects, agreeably to the decree of the 26th of March. The commissioners were no sooner named to proceed upon this duty, than they found themselves interrupted by a riotous mob composed chiefly of women; soon after a similar assemblage was collected opposite the house of the commandant general, and another at the Cordeliers, breathing indignation and destruction against the heretics. The municipality was

was then sitting, and the patriots earnestly besought them to permit the national guard to arm for the relief of the city. The company of dragoons, which was chiefly composed of protestants, were particularly obnoxious to the mob, who exclaimed that it was now time to sacrifice these heretics. Instead of permitting them to arm in their own defence, the perfidious magistrates ordered the dragoons to retire. To retire was now become impossible without the imminent risk of their lives. In this desperate extremity they took the resolution of throwing themselves into the corps-du garde, where with a few bad arms they hoped to make some stand against the fury of the populace. Unfortunately they were without ammunition, and the mob directed a desperate and continued fire against the windows of the corps-du-garde. It was in vain that the besieged hung out a white handkerchief as entreating clemency. In the very act of submission five of the dragoons were killed, and the mob immediately began to pull down the walls. Happily the regiment of Languedoc was stationed not far distant, and in this alarming crisis arrived time enough to save the lives of the remaining dragoons. The regiment was just strong enough to protect them, as they were conducted, covered with blood and wounds, from the scene of their sufferings to the common prison, where the enraged multitude still continued assembled, most brutally asking for their heads, and exclaiming, "Down with the nation!"

The news of these intolerant proceedings no sooner reached Bourdeaux, than a patriotic army was detached for the purpose of avenging the cruel outrages committed on their fellow-soldiers, and restoring the tranquillity of Montaubon. From Toulouse a similar expedition proceeded. The regiment of Languedoc refused to act against these patriotic armies, though urged by its commanding officer, who was in the aristocratic interest,

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Fortunately M. Dumas, the commander of the king, arrived in time to prevent a contest which would probably have terminated in a dreadful carnage. At this instant the detachment of Bourdeaux retired without entering the city, and the prisoners were honourably released, and carried in triumph to Bourdeaux.

The same indecent scenes which had been rehearsed at Toulouse and performed at Montaubon, were repeated at Nimers. The population of that city amounted to about fifty thousand souls, the quarter part of which were protestants. No religious distinction was observed in forming the national guard, nor was it till after many efforts that the spirit of fanaticism could be excited in the inhabitants. When the municipality, however, came to be elected, the priests and monks were assiduous in engaging the citizens by oath not to give their vote to any protestant. By a similar course of intrigue and faction, M. Marguerites, one of the noble and protesting members of the assembly, was elected mayor; and his installation was marked by a proceeding which was a proper omen of what was to follow. At Nimers a number of pikes or halberds had been manufactured for the purpose of arming the catholic party; and at the ceremony of his installation, several persons of the militia appeared armed with these weapons, contrary to the express order of the commandant of the national guard.

The following day one of the serjeants who had in this manner transgressed the orders of his commanding officer, was reproached with his disobedience. He replied, that he was authorised by the mayor. A protestant serjeant who happened to be present obliged the other to follow him to that magistrate, who denied the fact, and ordered the catholic serjeant to be imprisoned for *half an hour*. Such a sentence was considered rather as a triumph than as a punishment; and he was no sooner released, than with an immense troop of desperadoes he repaired to the
house

house of the protestant serjeant, who was fortunate enough to escape by a back way. The alarm soon spread in every quarter; the protestants where every where attacked, and several of them grievously wounded.

The city continued in a state of ferment, owing to the desire of the magistrates to disarm gradually the national guard, and insisted on their taking, besides the usual civic oath, a particular oath of obedience and submission to themselves. On the 21st of April twenty companies were assembled for this purpose, when the general cry was, "Long live the king, down with the nation, cut the throats of the blacks!" so they termed the protestants. In a few days afterwards an incendiary libel was distributed among the regiment of Guyenne, entitled, "Important advice to the French army;" the anti-patriots in general, and even some companies of the military, put on the white cockade, the signal for rebellion; several tumults were excited by different contests between the two parties; and on the 4th of May the devastation and carnage would have been universal, had not the regiment of Guyenne insisted on the mayor proclaiming the martial law, which once more restored tranquillity and order.

M. Marguerites was cited before the national assembly to answer for these disorders; but his defence was ingenious, and the tenderness of his colleagues for a member of their own body prevented the infliction of punishment. On the 4th of June the discontents and disorders were renewed before the gates of the palace, where the electoral body were assembled. The rebellious companies who had worn the white cockade would forcibly prevent the dragoons and the regiment of Guyenne from forming the patrols, and doing the regular duty of the city. They openly attacked the unarmed dragoons, fired on the citizens from the windows, and entrenched themselves in a tower adjacent to the house of M. Froment. After some attempts at a parley, which it is said were broken by the

the firing of the aristocrats, the regiment of Guyenne forced the tower; and on both sides about twenty-four persons were killed.

Innumerable jealousies took place between the officers and soldiers of the different regiments; and in one of these contests the viscount de Mirabeau ran off with the colours of his regiment, but was pursued, and obliged to surrender them. In the capital the same causes operated to promote disunion and distrust; and this, united to the hasty impetuous spirit of the French nation, was frequently on the point of betraying them into the most desperate excesses. An instance of this kind occurred on the 19th of May, which is worthy of being recorded. On that day an unfortunate man was detected in the act of stealing a sack of oats. Some soldiers of the national guard took him immediately under their protection, and were conveying him as a prisoner to the Chatelet; but the populace who were in the habit of inflicting summary justice, tore him from the soldiers, and were in the act of beating him to death with their clubs, when the marquis de la Fayette happened to pass by the horrible scene. He plunged instantly into the thickest of the mob, and in despite of their outcries and menaces seized the person who had begun the tumult, and conducted him with his own hands to the Chatelet. He next delivered the unfortunate criminal from the mob; and, exhorting them to disperse, and conduct themselves like orderly citizens, had the happiness to see the tumult entirely suppressed, and the people return to their houses, full of the praises of the man who had so intrepidly rescued them from their own phrensy, and prevented them from contaminating themselves with human blood.

An unexpected event, which occurred about the middle of May, excited the attention of the national assembly to one of the most important questions that can agitate a political society. The dispute that arose between
Great

Great Britain and Spain, concerning Nootka Sound, became extremely embarrassing to the politics of France. The strict alliance which for almost a century had subsisted between the nations of France and Spain, strengthened by the once inviolable bond of family connexion between the respective courts, rendered it probable that a demand would be made by the latter for the stipulated assistance: on the other hand, a war might be fatal to the nascent liberties of France; and the love of freedom which dignifies the British nation rendered her an object of veneration with the French patriots. On the 14th of May, M. de Montmorin communicated to the national assembly the preparations for war in which the neighbouring powers were engaged, and the precautions which the king had thought necessary to adopt for the preservation of his dominions. The discussions into which this communication led were as various as the alarms which it excited: the lesser objects were, however, all at length absorbed by one important question—"To whose hands ought the nation to delegate the right of making war and peace?"

Two opposite opinions for a considerable period divided the assembly. The count Clermont Tonnerre, Messrs. de Serent, Virieu, Dupont and others, defended warmly the concession of this prerogative to the king—They stated, that the constitution originally established two distinct powers, the legislative and the executive. The one was intended solely to express the public will; the other to execute it—That under the latter of these predicaments fell the right of directing the public force, for the defence or for the advantage of the nation—That general principles and general laws are the objects of legislation; but that the detail of political action fell entirely within the province of executive government.—The proceedings of popular assemblies, they added, are necessarily too slow and too public in a business where secrecy and dispatch are commonly required. Ministers

too are responsible to the nation for their conduct; but to the members of the national assembly no responsibility whatever is attached: and if ministers are found to be not free from corruption, experience equally evinces that the members of legislative bodies are not less exposed to temptation. England, so remarkable for its jealousy with respect to its liberties, has delegated to its monarchs this formidable prerogative, and has only thought it necessary to guard against abuses by the authority which the legislature retains over the treasures of the nation. If, in fine, said these advocates of regal power, we have reason to dread the folly or the depravity of the monarch, is there no reason to apprehend those rapid movements of popular enthusiasm, that false and national pride, that unfounded and hasty resentment, which so frequently agitate mixed and numerous assemblies?

Among the orators who appeared on the contrary side of the question, were Messrs. d'Aiguillon, Garat, junr. Freteau, Jellet, Charles Lameth, Sillery, Petion, Robespierre, &c.—In wishing to confine to the legislative body the right of making peace or war, they urged, that the only proper judges of the expediency of war were those who were to feel its inconveniences; and that those who were far removed from all experience of its evils—That the entering into a war could not be considered as a mere function of executive government, which consists only in putting the existing laws in execution—and that the secrecy and dispatch for which the partisans of the royal prerogative so strongly pleaded, were indeed essential to the conduct of military operations, but could scarcely be necessary to the act of declaring war. They proved from history, that the ruin of most nations had been effected by the false glory of their rulers. They ridiculed the imaginary control that a legislature might be thought to possess, after the commencement of hostilities, by withholding supplies; since the safety, the existence of a state was

was committed by the declaration of war—and to say we will withhold supplies, is to say *we will not defend ourselves*.—They doubted the efficiency of that responsibility which was attributed to ministers; and demonstrated that there was no responsibility for incapacity, for mistaken opinions, for erroneous speculations; and that even corruption and intrigue might not frequently shelter themselves under some of these pretences.—These arguments were enforced by a resolution, proposed by M. Petion—“that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war;” which was passed with universal acclamations.

From this collision of sentiment a third opinion arose, which, while it contradicted in some measure, served at the same time to conciliate the others; and this was, that to the king should be confined the prerogative of announcing to the assembly the necessity of war or peace, and after a solemn deliberation, it should be declared “on the part of the king of the French in the name of the nation.” This was nearly the opinion which was supported by the count de Mirabeau; and though much obloquy was thrown upon him while the affair continued under deliberation, which was to the 22d of May, it was at length victorious.

On the 11th of June the assembly went into mourning for three days on account of the death of Dr. Franklin; and nearly about the same period the expences of the civil lists were settled at twenty-five millions per annum, or about 1,250,000*l.* sterling; and the dowry of the queen at four millions, or 200,000*l.* per annum sterling. The civil list of France included—1st, the king's personal expences, and those of the queen; the education of the royal children, and a provision for the other branches of the royal family: 2d, the buildings; the *garde meuble*, &c. of the crown: 3d, the royal military establishment, viz. the body guards, &c. However
liberal

liberal this allowance at first sight may appear, if we recollect the immense domains which the reigning family brought to the nation, it will perhaps not appear enormous; beside that, whatever the parsimonious spirit of republicanism may alledge, it is always sound policy to attach by the strongest interests the head of the state to the support of the constitution. A million a year is too little to bribe so numerous a representation, biennially elected, as that of France; and yet it is such as would enable the monarch to live in a state becoming the chief magistrate of a great nation.

These measures were followed on the 14th and the succeeding days by a series of decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy. In these the injustice which we must confess had been done to that body of men was in some degree compensated, by the wise regulations which prevented the extreme poverty of the inferior orders, and which restrained within moderate bounds the income of the higher clergy. But whether they acted wisely in establishing an elective priesthood, or whether the improved mode of election which was adopted in France would have been a preventive of those evils to which such an institution is liable, where the old forms of election are preserved, are experiments which are yet to be tried.

The assembly had scarcely completed this arduous task, before it ventured upon a measure which drew immediately upon them the censure and indignation of all Europe—a measure, which was the first to awake that malignant jealousy with which the privileged orders and their dependents in every civilized country have since continued to view the French revolution. Early in the month of June, the mayor of Paris had communicated to the assembly a plan for the celebration of a grand confederation, in which the representatives of the nation, the king, the soldiery, and all who were in ostensible situations, should solemnly and in the face of the whole nation renew

their oaths of fidelity to the new constitution; and this confederation was decreed to take place on the 14th of July, in honour of the taking of the Bastille, and of the first establishment of Gallic liberty. On the 19th of June, therefore, after decreeing civic honours to the conquerors of the Bastille, the patriotic feelings of the assembly were raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm, by a deputation of foreigners from every nation, who came to testify their respect for the new constitution in a warm panegyric, and to request a seat at the ensuing solemnity. They were answered by the president with dignity, and dismissed with respect; and they had no sooner retired, than M. Alexandre Lameth moved that the foreigners, and particularly the Germans, who might resort to Paris to be spectators of the approaching ceremony, might not be insulted by the representation of their ancestors, whom the vanity of Louis XIV. had caused to be exhibited in chains at the feet of his statute. The deputies of some of the provinces, which were represented in this ignominious situation, rose with indignation to demand that these monuments of regal insolence should be effaced; and another member proposed, that all the false and panegyric emblems which decorated the statutes of the kings should be removed, and replaced by a representation of the *best* action of each of the monarchs.

At this moment M. Lambel, a distinguished advocate and deputy for Villefranche, taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, exclaimed, that "he trusted he now saw the last moment of expiring vanity," and proposed the abolition of titles. Messrs. Prefelne and la Fayette mounted the tribune at the same instant; and the former read the outlines of a decree to that effect, which he said he had prepared two months before. M. Foucault opposed the motion—"What," said he, "would you deprive man of the most powerful and the most noble motive of emulation?—What would you do, for instance
with

with the man whom Henry II. honoured with a brevet, which recited, "that he was created a count for having saved the state?"—"I would omit," said M. la Fayette, "the words *created a count*, and insert only "that he had saved the state." M. de St. Fergan observed, that the decrees in question would not impose any hardship upon him, since he was possessed of several *counties* and *marquisates*, the titles of which he had never employed. Many other members distinguished themselves in this debate, but none more than the viscount de Noailles.— "Titles," said this nobleman, "in this enlightened age, can only confer honour where there is nothing internally to respect. We do not speak of duke Fox, count Washington, the marquis Franklin, but of Charles Fox, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin. Permit me to add," said he, "to so many excellent motions, one, the object of which is to rescue from disgrace a part of our fellow-citizens. Liveries, as a portion of the feudal system, ought to be abolished." To these motions was added another from M. de Montmorency, for the suppression of armorial bearings; and the whole of them was moulded into a decree by M. Chapelier, and passed.

These decrees which have been so much extolled by one party, and so much derided by the other, were in themselves really deserving neither of much censure nor of much praise; they were neither a subject of exultation for France, nor of imitation of other countries differently situated. The inconsistency of mankind is never so decisively evinced as when vanity is the ruling passion. The princes and the nobility of Europe had beheld, with indifference, the plunder of the Gallican church; they had seen, without alarm, the virtual annihilation of nobility by the union of the three estates in one house, and by the suppression of the feudal privileges:—but when the unmeaning titles, titles without function, titles without privilege, titles often without property,

mostly without legal claim, and frequently debased and degraded, came to be suppressed, then, and not till then, the storm of noble and of regal indignation was at once excited, and the alarm-bell was sounded against the evils of French innovation. In this country in particular, no comparison can be instituted but with an invidious design between the British house of peers and the noblesse of France. No resemblance exists between them, nor is there either any thing to be feared or to be desired from the example. In France the noblesse amounted to upwards of 200,000 persons; in England to no more than 300. In France the whole race was ennobled; in England only the eldest son, and the rest of the family is returned to the mass of private citizens. In England nobility is rather title attached to a certain function; in France it was privilege attached to a title. The house of peers of Great Britain is a member of the state, a legislature and a supreme court of justice; in France nobility was something without designation, without function, without respectability. There the nobility formed a peculiar cast or tribe which disdained to mix with the rest of the nation; in England there is scarcely a family which is not, or has not been, in some manner allied to the nobility, and all are equal except the actual representatives of noble families. In France the offices and emoluments of the state were monopolized by the noblesse; in England they are equally open to every commoner. In reality no titles were legal in France, but those of the few who were termed peers of France: the rest were assumed at the pleasure of the person; and it was only necessary to be of a noble family, in order to decorate themselves with whatever title sounded most agreeably to the ear of the individual. When the noblesse were disrobed of the feudal privileges, then in reality they were abolished. When they ceased to represent their own body, when the power of the nation was vested

vested in an assembly chosen by the people, then ranks were in reality levelled; for rank without power will soon cease to be such, and no longer deserves the name. As to liveries and armorial bearings, they are trifles, which were on the one hand, beneath the notice of the national assembly, and on the other, their abolition can never be a matter of serious disapprobation with men of sense. The principal motive for passing these decrees was, doubtless, that no badge of separation might remain to distinguish the privileged cast from the rest of the nation, and that no regular order should subsist, thus distinguished, inimical to the new constitution. But could the assembly have foreseen what a degree of odium this transaction was to bring upon their proceedings, they would have been greatly wanting in prudence not to have declined the measure; but the more reasonable conjecture is, that they did not foresee it. They considered it as an act much more indifferent and less invidious than many which they had passed, and conceived that, where no person was deprived of any thing substantial, no person would conceive himself substantially injured.

In the mean time the preparations for the general confederation proceeded with considerable rapidity. The *CHAMP DE MARS*, so famous for having been the rendezvous of the troops which in the preceding year intended to overawe the capital, was chosen for this solemnity. This piece of ground, which is about 400 toises, or 800 yards in diameter, is bounded on the right and left by lofty trees, and commands at the further extremity a view of the military academy. In the middle of this vast plain an altar was erected for the purpose of administering the civic oath; and round it an immense amphitheatre was thrown up, of a league in circumference, and capable of containing four hundred thousand spectators. The entrance into the *Champ de Confédération* (as it was now called) was through

triumphal arches: The king's throne was placed under an elegant pavillion in the middle, and on each side of it were seats for the members of the national assembly.

Two thousand workmen were employed upon this immense labour; but the citizens of Paris, fearing lest the preparations should not be completed at the appointed period, flocked from every quarter to assist in the undertaking. Not only the military, but the clergy, and even the ladies, lent their cheerful assistance. With astonishment strangers beheld the most delicate and elegant of the female sex dragging the wheel-barrow, or handling with willing, but sometimes ineffective endeavours, the weighty mallet or the spade. The provincials, who came from the remotest parts of the kingdom to join in the confederation, emulated the citizens in their ardour and enthusiasm; and the work was completed, so as both with respect to time and manner to surprise every spectator.

The important 14th of July at length arrived. The national guards of the departments, distinguished by their respective standards, the battalions of infantry, the marine of France, and the foreigners who served under its banners, being all arranged in military order, the king and the national assembly took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution; the armed citizens repeated it amongst the applauses of innumerable spectators. They swore to live free or die; and this oath was taken on the same day through the whole extent of the kingdom.

Previous to the confederation, the duke d'Orleans desired leave to return and assist at this august ceremony. On the receipt of this letter, M. de la Fayette ascended the tribune, and explained his motives for having advised the departure of the duke; which were in brief, "that he apprehended an ill use might be made of his name, while present, in order to disturb the public tranquillity. These reasons, M. de la Fayette added, did he believe

still

still subsist, though he saw nothing to make him apprehensive at present for the public safety." The duke arrived on the 11th of July, and, after first renewing his civic oath in the national assembly, assisted personally at the confederation.

C H A P. V.

Courts of justice—New taxes—Droit d'Aubaine, &c. abolished—Accusation of the Chatelet against M. M. d'Orleans and Mirabeau—Provincial disturbances—Affair of Nancy—Resignation of M. Neckar—Mutiny at Brest—Riot at Paris—Affairs at Avignon—Ejection of the non-juring clergy from their benefices—League formed by foreign powers against France—Troubles at Aix, Lyons, and Britany—Emigration of the king's aunts—Armed men found in the palace—Decrees relative to the army, the regency, &c.—Discussion of the law of inheritances—Death and character of M. de Mirabeau—Organization of the ministry—The king stopped as he was going to St. Cloud—Insurrections in the French colonies—Flight of the king—His return—Hostile preparations on the frontiers—Martial law proclaimed at Paris—The new constitution presented, and accepted by the king.

CONTRARY to general expectation, the grand confederation was performed without tumult or confusion, and nothing but the weather, which was damp and unfavourable, occurred to cloud or to disturb the magnificent scene. Though to the eye of a philosopher these ceremonies convey little more than the idea of a great national pantomime, yet in the minds of the populace this solemnity stamped an additional legality on the proceedings of the national assembly, and strengthened their hands.

The legislature made an advantageous use of the calm which succeeded the confederation, in completing the organization

organization of the judicial department. Judges or justices of the peace were to be elected in each canton, for the determination of petty differences; tribunals for the adjudication of more important causes were established in districts; and a tribunal of *cassation*, or court of appeal, was appointed for the whole kingdom, where, under certain restrictions, the proceedings of the inferior courts might be revised. Courts of criminal justice were established in each of the departments; and a high national court, for the trial of crimes against the state, completed the edifice. One institution, however, demands our attention, and we believe it was peculiar to the new jurisprudence of France. Boards of conciliation were appointed in every district, where the parties in a suit were to be cited personally, and where every means were to be employed to effect an amicable termination, before the cause could be brought to a hearing before the ordinary courts of justice. Family arbitrators were also authorized to terminate petty disputes between near relations, and the forms prescribed in all these cases were the simplest that could be invented. We have already remarked that the trial by jury was only adopted in criminal cases; an aristocratic writer observes on this subject, with some archness, that "the trial by jury would also have been established in civil causes, if there had not been too many lawyers in the constituting assembly." This is indeed not the only objection to the new jurisprudence of France, since there is much room to doubt whether temporary and elective judges can ever be adequate to the purposes of substantial justice. Notwithstanding these defects, however, the code was deserving of some admiration for its simplicity, its consistency; for the gratuitous administration of justice; for the easy access which the poorest subject, when injured, might have to the means of redress; for the discouragement which it held forth to litigious and vexatious contests :
and

and however the French revolution may be censured, in this part of the constitution other nations may find much worthy of imitation, and many institutions for the obvious ease and advantage of the people.

With respects to the pecuniary interests of the republic, it was also decreed that the legislative body should annually determine the sum total of the public expences and contributions; and that, under the direction of the king, an administration should be established in each department, with an inferior or subordinate one in each district, for the regulation and collection of the revenue. The police of each city or community was committed to magistrates chosen by the citizens.

To replace the salt tax, and the other odious and oppressive imposts, which had been abolished, the assembly imposed an easy land-tax upon immoveable property, and a poundage upon personal property and annuities; a tax upon patents, and a stamp tax upon contracts and other writings. These taxes were however but ill paid; and to remedy the deficiencies of the revenue, continual emissions of assignats became necessary; and even to supply the want of current coin, which had been greatly lessened by the continual emigrations, it was thought proper to issue assignats for the smallest sums. But paper credit, however responsible the bank on which it is dependent, is always attended with a temporary inconvenience. It circulates with less facility than specie, and commonly increases the balance of exchange in favour of foreign nations.

Several decrees of lesser moment, but which reflect credit on the liberality and wisdom of the assembly, were passed about this period. That in particular which restored to the protestants those possessions of which their ancestors had been deprived by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is deserving of the highest encomiums; and that which abolished for ever all extraordinary taxes levied upon

upon the Jews, was at once politic and just. These were followed by the abolition of the execrable droit d'aubaine, which assigned to the king the property of all aliens not naturalized, who died in France.

In the fate of the unfortunate Favras, the tribunal of the Chatelet had evinced themselves not the most unexceptionable judges of the competency of evidence. A still more embarrassed and dubious affair involved them in some disgrace soon after the confederation. That tribunal was charged by the assembly to take cognizance of the transactions of the 5th and 6th of October. On the 7th of August they brought their report sealed to the bar of the assembly, and in a pompous address lamented the severe task which their duty to their country had imposed upon them; and concluded with informing the assembly that two of their own body were among the principal criminals. The assembly heard this denunciation with horror and consternation; the report of the Chatelet was referred to a committee; and the members against whom it was appointed appeared to be M. d'Orleans, and M. Mirabeau the elder, whom they accused of a conspiracy to murder the queen, and to place M. d'Orleans upon the throne. The procedure of the Chatelet was printed; and before the committee had time to make their report, so incompetent was the evidence and so inconclusive the reasoning, that though neither M. d'Orleans nor M. Mirabeau were at that time great favourites with the populace, the public voice had already quitted them*:

* It is by no means certain, however, that they were guiltless of the charge; but the error of the Chatelet was in not sufficiently investigating the evidence: and this is one among the many proofs that the French (and even those among them who are most practised in forensic proceedings) have no correct notions as yet of the administration of justice. In all their judicial proceedings a charge is dressed up in a style of declamation, and the facts if plausible are generally taken for granted; this was flagrantly the case in those two most horrid and atrocious transactions, the trial of the king, and of the unfortunate and ill-treated Cuffine.

on the 2d of October therefore the assembly decreed, that on a full examination there was no cause of accusation against them. Others were also involved in the process; but this unpropitious commencement so totally annihilated all confidence in the tribunal to which the prosecution was referred, that the affair was dropped, and probably the guilty were permitted to escape.

Whatever might have been the motives of the Chatelet on this occasion, it is certain that the spirit of party never was more violent in France than about the period of which we are now treating. The aristocratic body, who had previously acted chiefly on the defensive, were now become the assailants, and no means were left untried to plunge the nation into a state of confusion. It must be allowed too, that the impatient and irritable temper of the French populace was an excellent engine to work with; and the jealousy which existed between the ancient soldiery and the new militia afforded frequent opportunities but too favourable to the wishes of the malecontents. Petty tumults and continual mistrust were excited in the frontier provinces, in different parts of Flanders, Alsace, and Lorraine, and a defection of some magnitude took place among the soldiery at Toulouse; but what happened at Nancy was of still more serious nature, and deserves a particular detail.

As far as we have been able to collect from the journals of the national assembly, and other authentic information, the following appears a just statement of this dark and mysterious transaction. From the first establishment of the revolution, the French army had been in a state little favourable either to patriotism or subordination. The majority of their officers were of ancient noblesse, and a mutual jealousy existed between them and the private soldiers. Every inducement had been employed to seduce the soldiers from their duty; and when promises and blandishments did not prevail, the most severe measures

were

were put in execution. The soldiers were frequently ill paid, and yet the most culpable profusion had been made of the money voted for the support of the army. Such, by the evidence of a part of the national guard of Nancy at the bar of the assembly, was the state of the garrison in that city. The officers in general were inimical to the new constitution, and had made use of every temptation to destroy the attachment of the soldiers to the new arrangement. These means proving unsuccessful, they had adopted the most rigorous discipline; they had withheld the pay of the soldiers, and even condemned them to run the gauntlet for demanding necessaries. They had endeavoured to persuade the men, that all these acts were in conformity with the orders of the national assembly, which refused any longer to furnish them with the usual allowance of bread, and which was upon the point even of depriving them of the augmentation of pay which had been established at the revolution.

In the same spirit the utmost pains were employed to produce mistrust and mutual abhorrence between the citizens and the soldiers. Men were dressed in the uniform of the king's regiment (one of the regiments in garrison there), and employed to wound and insult the citizens. One of these persons was taken, and banished from the city at the request of the regiment; at the same time, some young officers were encouraged by their superiors to behave in a most indecent manner to several of the peaceable inhabitants; and even hired ruffians were engaged for the same purpose. Several of these were arrested, and a court-martial appointed, at the request of the regiment, for their trial: but M. Bouvillé, who commanded in the province, had set himself in opposition to this measure. One of the grenadiers who had been active in these persecutions, was menaced in the most insulting manner by an officer, who sooner after deserted to the king of Hungary.

Wearied

Wearied with these repeated indignities, and acts of oppression, the regiment at length threw off its allegiance, asserted loudly that they were wronged of their pay and their allowance, and demanded the regimental accounts. M. Denou threatened with the gauntlet all who presumed to call for the accounts. The regiment therefore immediately seized the military chest, and dispatched a deputation to Paris, to represent these facts to the national assembly.

The officers, however, took care to anticipate the representation of the soldiers, and were too intimately connected with the ministers, and some members of the assembly, to permit the complaints of the privates to be heard. The deputation from the regiment was arrested at Paris. M. de la Tour du Pin, the minister of war, made a formidable representation of the rebellious conduct of the regiment. The miseries resulting from a want of subordination, and the necessity of an example, were echoed through the assembly. On the 16th of August, a severe decree was passed, which authorized the commander in chief of the province to reduce the insurgents by force.

In the mean time the other regiments, in garrison, the Swiss regiment of Chateaufieux, and the regiment of cavalry called *Mestre de Camp*, irritated by similar oppressions, and much disorganized by want of discipline, had concurred in the rebellion, had seized some of their officers, and were joined by great numbers of the populace.

The decree of the 16th was no sooner made public than, from knowing the character of the commander in chief, the most serious consequences were apprehended by all good citizens. The national guard of Nancy assembled and offered to the regiments to undertake the part of mediators, and to send the terms of their submission by a deputation from their own body to the national assembly.

The

The deputation proceeded immediately to Paris, and on the 31st of August appeared before the assembly.—On their representation, the decree of the 16th was repealed, and commissioners were appointed for the purpose of inquiring minutely into the circumstances of the case, and to punish the guilty, and reward the deserving.

Such an arrangement however did not suit the views of the perfidious and sanguinary Bouillé. Without waiting the result of the deputation from Nancy, he hastened with a fatal rashness (as was confessed even by his advocates) to enforce the decree of the 16th. He collected all the troops that he could assemble from every part, and such of the national guard as preferred a patriotic subordination to the immediate dictates of their feelings and their resentments. In spite of their offers of submission, he fell upon the regiments of Chateaufieux and Maître de Camp; and after putting an immense number to the sword, he completely routed them, and took four hundred prisoners.

The king's regiment had been retained in their barracks by the exertions of some patriotic persons who urged them to submission. Even when M. Bouillé arrived, they were prevented from acting by the intrepidity and virtue of a young officer of the name of Desfilles. This intrepid young man, after urging his fellow-soldiers by every motive to submit; assuring them that sooner or later they would experience the justice of the legislature, placed himself before the mouth of a cannon, which they were going to fire. He was forcibly dragged from this dangerous situation, but in the struggle received three or four wounds, of which he afterwards died.

The news of this event was received at Paris with horror. As M. Bouillé had not exceeded the authority which the national assembly had unfortunately conceded to him by the rash decree of the 16th, they could not legally inflict either punishment or censure upon him.

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The populace, however, who were not reduced to any dilemma, gave a full vent to their feelings; they openly accused M. Bouillé of treachery, and a desire to effect a counter-revolution, and even threatened the lives of the ministers. In a word, the resentment of the people seemed to menace the most dangerous excesses, which were only prevented by unusual circumspection and care. It is only necessary to add with respect to this business, that in the month of December following the assembly reversed all its own decrees against the insurgents at Nancy, liberated all the prisoners, and recompensed them as men who had unjustly suffered: at the same time they decreed public honours to the memory of the brave Desfilles, and placed his family under the protection of the state.

The decline of M. Necker's popularity has been already noticed. He had not raised himself in the estimation of the people by a pamphlet which he published on the abolition of nobility, or at least of titles, which supported with much ingenuity the aristocratical order. Both previous to this step, and after it, he must have felt the gradual loss of the public esteem, and possibly had for some time meditated a retreat from office. The measure was however probably accelerated by the popular clamours on the affairs of Nancy, which involved him (certainly unfairly) with the rest of the ministers in that transaction. On the 4th of September he sent a letter of resignation to the assembly, and pleaded his ill state of health, which required his retiring to the Baths in Switzerland; though he dropped some distant intimation of the uneasiness he had experienced in his situation. It is not to the credit of the national assembly, that no public notice was taken of this letter. The inflexible integrity of M. Necker certainly demanded the highest veneration; his abilities entitled him to respect, and his services to gratitude.—But, what is the gratitude of public bodies! If, like one of his predecessors, in office, he had retired,
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a public defaulter, infamously loaded with the spoils of his country, only to be employed in exciting enemies, and provoking the most profligate combinations against her, could he have been treated with more marked contempt?

The same parties, and the same factious spirit which prevailed in the army, pervaded also the navy of France. The national assembly had decreed the adherence of the nation to all existing treaties, in which the family compact was necessarily included; and as England continued arming on the Spanish dispute, a fleet of thirty sail was ordered to be equipped at Brest, as it was uncertain how far France might be involved in the expected hostilities. The disorders which took place among the seamen at Brest have been attributed to different causes. On the 13th of September, while the squadron was fitting out with all possible expedition, the Leopard arrived from St. Domingo, having on board a part of the refractory assembly, who, being dissolved by the governor, had embarked on board the Leopard, both to save themselves from imprisonment, and endeavour to make friends to their party in the mother country. As therefore the dissatisfaction commenced on board this vessel, on account of the admiral commanding a sailor to be imprisoned for intoxication, it was supposed by some that the crew had been depraved by their communication with the rebellious members of the St. Domingo assembly; while others have attributed it, perhaps with more probability, to the general suspicion which the seamen entertained of their officers, the majority of whom were of the nobility, and possibly not well affected to the constitution. M. Menou, in a report from the military and marine committees on the 21st of October, attempted to fix the blame on the inactivity and inertness of the ministers. This charge, however, did not appear well founded, though it was followed on the 27th by the resignation of the naval minister, M. de la

la Lauzerne, who was succeeded by M. Fleurieu ; the archbishop of Bourdeaux also resigned about the same time ; and Duport du Tertre, a man possessed of every great and amiable quality, was appointed minister of justice. On the 16th of November M. Tour du Pin was replaced by M. du Portail.* The admiral, M. Albert de Rioms, also resigned, with many of the officers, and M. Bougainville was appointed to the command of the fleet. The malecontents were with some difficulty reduced to subordination ; but happily for France, she was delivered from the necessity of engaging in a war by the convention which was soon after resigned between Spain and England.

It may be considered as a singularly fortunate circumstance, that, amidst all these disturbances in the exterior parts of the kingdom, the new police of Paris had preserved the metropolis tolerably quiet. The discontent excited by the affair of Nancy ended without violence. On the 13th of November, however, the tranquillity of the capital was once more disturbed, in consequence of a private dispute, which ended in a duel between M. Castries and M. Charles Lameth, in which the latter was dangerously wounded. As every report is at first exaggerated, the news was very generally spread that M. Lameth was killed ; and the people, ever prone to suspicion, immediately conceived the formidable idea of a general conspiracy successively to assassinate all the patriotic members. An immense mob was presently at the hôtel de Castries, which they proceeded to spoil and destroy. M. de la Fayette, whose vigilance was ever awake, no sooner heard of the commotion, than with a party of the nation-

* This was the first of those forced and violent changes of ministry which were the harbingers of the dissolution of all legal authority in France. On this occasion M. Cazales pronounced a most eloquent discourse, in which he proved from history, that the legislative power interfering with the executive in the appointment of the subordinate agents of government could be only attended with the ruin of the nation.

nal guard be repaired to the spot, and, forcibly represented to the populace the rashness of their conduct. It is equally to the credit of each party, that the mob immediately desisted, and even, on coming out of the house, insisted that every man should be searched to evince that plunder was not in the least their object.

On the 16th and 20th of November a business came before the assembly, which was pregnant with difficulty, and which suspended the public opinion for some succeeding months. It is well known, that the country of Avignon is inclosed on every side by the dominions of France; that it formed anciently a part of Provence; that it was alienated by a queen who was at that period both under circumstances of compulsion and a minor; that, as soon as she came of age, she reclaimed it; that the cession had not been formally acknowledged by the parliaments, and that several successive monarchs had renewed their claim to the city as a part of their hereditary dominions. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that long possession had given the popes that title by which most sovereignties are held; that the cession of Jane, queen of Naples, had been ratified by the states of Provence; and that if some of the kings had denied the right of the pope, it had been acknowledged by others. A stronger reason solicited the assembly to incorporate this city with the kingdom of France, and that was the voice of the inhabitants of Avignon themselves. The papal government is notoriously the worst in the world; it is even said, that justice was publicly bought and sold at Avignon; nor could any remonstrances to the pope obtain redress for the people. In this state of oppression, a large party in the city saw with a spirit of emulation the new government of France; they desired to make it their model, but still professed obedience to the pope. They elected a municipality, and formed the active citizens into a national guard. Such a state of things was scarcely consistent with a foreign dominion.

A contest

A contest between the vice legate and the people immediately succeeded: on the 10th of June a violent insurrection took place in the city; the people seized the palace; the papal arms were taken down, and those of France put up in their place; and a petition was dispatched to the national assembly, entreating, that the territory of Avignon might be incorporated into the dominions of France. To this first application the assembly only answered, by sending a body of troops to restore tranquillity, and to preserve order in the city; at the same time adjourning the question concerning the object of the petition. In May 1791, the discussion was again resumed, and it was again deferred. In the mean time, as the papal party was strong, and the clergy apprehensive of being deprived of their influence and their wealth, a most dreadful civil war desolated this beautiful country. It would be disgusting, as well as tedious, to enter into a detail of the bloody scenes and the horrid outrages which succeeded. Let it suffice to say, that all these circumstances being made known to the assembly, after repeated deliberations, it was at length resolved, on the 14th of September, 1791, that the territory of Avignon, with the adjacent country of Venaissin, should be considered as a part of the French empire, and that a compensation in lieu of these countries should be offered to the pope*. We have anticipated a little the order of these transactions, for the sake of perspicuity, and now return to the chain of our narrative.

We have already seen but too much occasion for censure in the severe treatment which the national clergy experienced from the constituent assembly. Their situation was not improved by a series of decrees which were passed in the latter end of the year 1790. In the

* This was the first instance in which the legislature of France violated that excellent maxim which it had so solemnly enacted, to avoid all conquest, all accession of territory, all increase of dominion.

month of July, among other ecclesiastical regulations, it had been enacted, that every beneficed clergyman should solemnly take an oath, "to watch carefully over the faithful in the parish or diocese which was entrusted to his care; to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy." Many of the clergy, on the first publishing of this decree, spontaneously offered to take the oath; but in many places the resolutions continued a mere dead letter, till the 27th of November, when a most severe decree was enacted, declaring that all such clergy as should neglect to take the oath, should be considered as virtually ejected from their benefices; and condemning to severe pains and penalties all such as should prove refractory. The policy of this measure was certainly to place the government of the church in the hands of men who were well affected to the new constitution, and to disengage the nation from a number of disaffected persons, who might be dangerous if possessed of power. In this view, the measure, after what had been done, might be politic; but it certainly was not just. It might be a means of giving permanency to the new order of things, but it was a violent infringement on toleration; and may we never see civil liberty preserved by a tyranny exerted over the consciences of men! The consequence was, that many conscientious persons, who had been well affected to the constitution, resigned their benefices; and indeed the situation of honest men with strict notions of church authority, was rendered extremely perplexing by the public declaration of the pope, who testified in marked terms his disapprobation of the oath. It is but justice to add, that the severity of this decree was in some degree mitigated by a subsequent law, which assigned to the non-juring clergy a pension of 500 livres per annum.

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The year 1790 closed with some accessions of popularity to the national assembly. A statue was decreed to be erected to the memory of Rousseau, and his widow was allowed a pension. To a benevolent madman, who was possessed of infinite genius, which he had exerted with effect in the cause of liberty, such a tribute of respect might not be misplaced; and the pension to his widow was an act of charity; but when (at a subsequent period) the assembly decreed almost divine honours to the profligate and unprincipled Voltaire, they disgraced themselves in the eyes of all good men, and made their approbation be justly considered as an insult and degradation. Some other popular acts were passed; but what conferred upon them the most solid applause, was the report of the committee of finances, from which it appeared, that the national receipt exceeded the expenditure by three millions, and that there was upwards of 500,000*l.* sterling in specie in the public treasury. To the immortal honour of the assembly, the pernicious and disgraceful tax of *LOTTERIES* was totally abolished and prohibited. About the close of the year M. de St. Priest, minister of the interior department, resigned.

The first act of the new year was not less honourable to the constituent legislature. Instead of indicating (as its enemies insinuated) an inclination to prolong its session, like the long parliament of England, a list of articles was introduced, which were necessary to be discussed previous to the final establishment of the constitution; after the determination of which the assembly declared its intention of dissolving itself, and resigning its authority.

The jealousy of the neighbouring potentates now began to be alarmed, and there was much reason to apprehend that a league was formed against the rising liberties of France, amongst the most powerful nations of the continent. Cordons of troops were advancing from Germany
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on the north, from Spain on the south, and from Italy and Savoy on the west; and France might be said literally to be besieged with hostile armies. The events which took place in France retarded for a while the execution of this plan; but the dispositions of despotic courts never alter; their action is occasionally interrupted by circumstances, but their tenor is direct, and their conduct commonly consistent; what Leopold left unperformed, Francis at a more convenient season endeavoured to accomplish.

The only plea which the conduct of France afforded these powers for interfering in her domestic concerns, was the claims of the German princes who had estates in Alsace and Lorraine. On the subversion of the feudal institutions, the claims of vassalage, mortmain, &c. &c., which these princes considered as their right, were necessarily abolished. It was in vain that the national assembly repeatedly decreed them the amplest compensation. The views of the German courts were different. Alsace and Lorraine afforded the excuse; but the object of the projected war was certainly not the seigniorial rights of a few petty princes, who would think themselves amply recompensed by the receipt of a few louis in their empty treasuries. The cautious politics of Leopold, however, led him to pursue the most courtly measures in treating with France. On the 22d of January the king communicated to the assembly a letter from the Emperor of Germany, in which that monarch made the most unqualified protestations of his amicable intentions towards France; but intimated at the same time, that "it was necessary that all the innovations that have taken place in consequence of the decrees of the 4th of August be done away, and matters put upon the ancient footing." The king, when he communicated the letter, treated it merely as an official measure of the emperor, as head of the German empire; and observed, that he received at
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the same time the most pacific assurances from the court of Vienna. The assembly, however, were not to be imposed upon by the finesse of Leopold; they immediately decreed a considerable augmentation of the national force, and that every defensive measure should be expeditiously adopted.

Several causes conspired to prevent the re-establishment of order in the provinces. The people in many places were too little instructed to enjoy legal and temperate liberty. The hopes of those who were adverse to the new constitution were elevated by the prospect of a counter-revolution, and the movements of the hostile powers; and the resentment of the refractory and ejected priests operated every where upon the fanaticism of the populace. At Aix, a club or society, calling itself "Friends of the king and the clergy," was instituted; the members of which, on the 12th of December, indulged themselves in the imprudent measure of wearing the white cockade. In the evening of that day, some of the party met with a number of persons who belonged to a club of opposite principles; some pistols were discharged, and a riot immediately ensued. The mob hastened immediately to the prison, where a M. Paschalis, an advocate, had for some time been confined for seditious writings and practices; and in defiance of the municipality and the national guard, tore him from his place of confinement, and hanged him, with two others of the aristocratic party, Messrs. Roquette and Doumont, on the neighbouring trees.

At Lyons, on the other hand, a desperate but ill-concerted conspiracy was discovered, which had for its object, to corrupt the populace of that city, by distributing money among them; to bring back thither the ex-princes; to make that city the retreat of the king, if he could be detached from the national assembly; and, if not, the assembly was forcibly to be conveyed thither along with him.

In the neighbourhood of Vannes in Britany the fanatic clergy openly preached against the constitution; and in one country parish, the priest, after having celebrated mass, desired his congregation to kiss the crucifix, and gave them absolution.—“Go now,” says he, “and plunge your daggers into the hearts of those impious persons who have degraded your holy religion: you are saved!” The infatuated multitude, instigated by this incendiary exhortation, marched in a body to Vannes*. At this place, however, they found the Irish regiment of Walsh and the national guard of l’Orient prepared for their reception, and they were easily repulsed and dispersed.

The public attention was now occupied with a transaction which would have been of little consequence in any other circumstances of the state. On the 20th of Feb. the president of the national assembly received a letter from the king, stating that his aunts, the daughters of Louis XV. had left Paris that morning at six o’clock, and that he was persuaded they could not legally be deprived of liberty which the constitution gave to every citizen to travel where his inclination led him, he had not attempted to prevent their departure. This report was no sooner made than M. Camus proposed that the civil list should be diminished in proportion to the provision which the nation allotted them: this was again opposed by M. Martineau; but the assembly considering the circumstance as unworthy of their notice, passed to the order of the day. On the following day, however, the subject was

* This fact is given on the authority of a decidedly democratic publication, and is therefore to be received with some caution.

§ This absurd debate was terminated more abruptly than it might otherwise have been by a pleasantry of M. Menou—“All Europe will be astonished to hear,” said he, “that the national assembly of France debated for four hours on the departure of two old women who chose rather to hear mass at Rome than at Paris.”

renewed by M. Barnave, who, as the constitutional committee were occupied in providing a series of regulations for the government of the royal family, proposed that they should be instructed to present to the assembly the plan of a decree to ascertain the right which persons allied to the throne should have to travel out of the kingdom. This proposal produced another from M. M. Martineau, Goupil, and others, that the law against emigrants should extend not only to the royal family, but to all other individuals; and that a reasonable absentee tax should be imposed, in order to discourage emigration in general.

In the mean time the ladies continued their journey, and with a train of carriages presented themselves before Moret, and produced to the magistrates a passport from the king, countersigned Montmorin, and a declaration from the municipality of Paris, stating that they arrogated to themselves no right to stop any person travelling through the kingdom. As, however, the municipality of Moret was informed that the matter was then under the consideration of the constitutional committee, they determined to arrest them. They had no sooner taken this determination, than a party of a hundred or more of the chasseurs de Lorraine, with a number of the domestics of M. Montmorin*, mayor of Fontainebleau, appeared before the gates, forced them open, and made a clear passage for the travellers. At Arnay-le-Duc, the municipality was more successful: there they effectually stopped the progress of the royal emigrants; and dispatched an account of their proceedings to the national assembly. On mature consideration, however, the assembly decreed, that "as there was no positive law existing which sanctioned the arrest of mesdames, aunts to the king, it should be referred to the executive power:"

* Not the minister of that name.—They were both massacred on the horrid second of September, 1792.

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and in consequence of this decree, after some delays, they were left to pursue their journey to Rome.

Thus the country was entirely deserted by all the different branches of the royal family, except monsieur. The people, whose fears and suspicions foresaw innumerable evils in these emigrations, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the Thuilleries; and a report being spread, that the only remaining brother of the king was about to depart also, the mob immediately directed their course to his palace, and insisted on a promise not to leave the kingdom. The prince conceded to the wishes of the populace, and they dispersed with every appearance of satisfaction of joy.

On the 28th of February an event of a more extraordinary and suspicious nature occurred, and unfortunately contributed to increase the jealousy and dissatisfaction of the public. On the morning of that day, at the usual hour of divine service at the royal chapel, a gentleman, after walking some time in the gallery, requested of the attendants on the dauphin to be permitted to see the prince. As he passed into the apartment, a poinard of a peculiar construction was discovered under his coat: he was arrested, and examined before the mayor of Paris, and committed to custody.

While the mayor was occupied with this affair, intelligence was received of a riot in another quarter. The castle of Vincennes had been directed to undergo some repair; and as that edifice had formerly been used as a state prison, the jealousy of the populace immediately took fire, and their imaginations represented to them the horrible spectre of a Bastille still more formidable than that which had been demolished. The suburb of St. Antoine was presently in motion, and the object of popular suspicion was powerfully assailed. M. la Fayette was no sooner informed of this commotion, than he proceeded thither, accompanied by a strong party of the national

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national guard. The populace were easily undeceived, and persuaded to disperse; but what was the surprise of the magistrates and national guard, on their return to the Tuilleries, to find the gates barred against them; and as soon as they were forced open, the apartments were discovered to be filled with a number of men armed with sword-canes, pistols and poinards, who had entered by a back-gate which was opened to them by one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber. On inquiry being made by the king, "whence it happened that more than four hundred persons armed in a secret manner had introduced themselves without leave into his apartments?" he was answered, that his nobility, alarmed by the affair at Vincennes, had assembled for his defence. The king rebuked their indiscreet zeal, and assured them, that he conceived himself perfectly safe under the protection of the national guard. The construction put upon this transaction by the popular party was, that a conspiracy had been concerted by the chiefs of the aristocracy to take advantage of the first commotion, which would necessarily draw off the national guard, to put in effect their long-projected plan of carrying off the king.—Whatever might be the motive of the persons who assembled on this occasion, it is much to be regretted, as it gave too much countenance to the suspicions of the people, and cherished that spirit of party which it was so much the interest of the nation to counteract and subdue.

The beginning of March was dedicated by the assembly chiefly to the organization of the army. On the 4th it was decreed, that there should in future be only six marshals of France, whose functions should be entirely military, and whose pay was fixed at the rate of 30,000 livres per annum. With regard to the marshals of France then existing, it was determined, that such of them as should not be retained in the actual service of the

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the state, should receive pensions adequate to their merits. On the succeeding day M. Victor Broglio addressed the assembly in favour of his father, marshal Broglio. He observed, "that the decree which had just been passed seemed to menace his respectable father, after a long and glorious career, with the deprivation of an honour which he had obtained, not from favour, but by merit. His father, he said, always a stranger to intrigue, and repulsed from court even for his virtues, had lived among the soldiers from the age of fourteen. He was their friend, their patron, their father. On the late unhappy occasion, he stated, that marshal Broglio had been drawn from his retreat in the country by the positive order of the king—That he was not privy to the assembling of the troops near the capital; and so little conscious of the design, that, on his arrival at court, his first address to the king was—'Here are the troops! but where is the enemy?'—That he was made acquainted with none of the measures of the court, and heard of the dismissal of M. Neckar only through the medium of public report—That when he arrived at Metz, so sensible had he been of the dishonourable cause in which he had been unconsciously engaged, that his spirits were sunk, and his health had been visibly on the decline—That he was now in so dangerous a state, that he was unable to return to his country, but had most obstinately resisted every attempt to seduce him from his allegiance to it."

In consequence of this representation, the assembly resolved—"That for the present nothing decisive should be decreed with respect to the rank of marshal of France, as held by M. Broglio; but that he should still be considered as preserving his rank and title, &c."—The marshal, afterwards, however, resigned his rank, and formally declared for the emigrants; it is probable therefore that M. Victor Broglio was either deceived in his information, or was in hopes, by obtaining this favourable

able decision, to overcome the prejudices of his father, and induce him to return to his country.

Towards the conclusion of the month, several decrees were passed relative to the case of a regency.—“ Women were excluded from that trust, as well as from the succession to the crown. The regency was declared to belong of right to the next male heir to the crown, during the whole minority of the king. The person of the minor king, however, was not confided to the regent; and he was pronounced to be of age at eighteen.”—Nearly about the same period it was decreed, “ that all public functionaries ought to reside in whatever place was the scene of their employments—That the king, as the first public functionary, should be always resident, during the session, within twenty leagues of the legislative body; and that, if he or the heir apparent went out of the kingdom without a decree of the legislature, they should be considered as having abdicated their right to the crown.”

This discussion was succeeded by one of still greater importance to the welfare of the community. This regarded the succession to property, and the right of disposing of possessions after death. In the outset of the debate, a very judicious distinction was established; and it was determined, 1st, to decide what was proper to be decreed with respect to the effects of persons dying intestate; and 2^{dly}, whether any restriction ought to be laid on the right of testamentary alienation. In the first part of this investigation, the evils of the existing law of inheritances were strongly depicted. The absurd feudal institution of primogeniture was successfully attacked. It was demonstrated, that no such institution existed among the enlightened nations of antiquity; that it originated among the most barbarous tribes, and in the most uncivilized periods; that, in the present circumstances of society, it was warranted by the motive, no reason, no excuse; that its basis was injustice, its consequences profligacy and crimes;

crimes; that the heir to a large fortune was generally corrupted by the possession of it, and the younger branches devoted to beggary and prostitution; that its effects in a public view were still more deplorable; and that it was the principal cause of that inequality among the citizens, which produced most of the vice, and all the misery that exists in society. In fine, the opinion, that an equal division of property should take place among the children or relations of persons dying intestate, seemed to meet with unanimous approbation, and was some time after the discussion decreed.

On the other topic, there was a greater diversity of sentiment. In defence of the unlimited power of testators, recourse was had to the sacred light in which property ought always to be regarded; to the discouragement which would be held forth to industry, if a man was not permitted to dispose of his property agreeably to his inclination. The power of parents over their children was another forcible argument which was resorted to on this topic. To make children independent of their parents, it was said, would be the annihilation of good morals. Youth, it was added, is the torrid zone of human life, and must fall the unresisting prey of temptation, of debauchery, of usury, of every existing corruption and depravity, if possessed of an independent patrimony. The character of a father was represented as the most sacred of titles; it was that which the deity himself assumes. The equal partition of estates, which was the principal argument employed by the other side, was adduced as a proof in favour of that arrangement which left the disposal of his property to the will of the testator. In the increase of population, it was said, the landed property of individuals would be subdivided into atoms, and the portions would be so extremely small as even to baffle the diligence of the collectors of the land-tax.

The arguments on the other side were no less ingenious. It was said, that the question in this case was simply, whether

whether the will of the law, or the will of the individual, should be obeyed? The will or determination of the law ought to be preferred, because it was totally exempt from the influence of the passions; whereas the will of the individual ought not to interfere with the public welfare. The arbitrary disposition of parents not only obstructed the public prosperity, by contributing to the inequality of fortune among the citizens; but frequently produced the most cruel outrages, by disinheriting their children, from passion or misrepresentation. It was not however contended that the restriction should be so absolute that a parent should have nothing left to distribute as a recompense to a deserving child, nothing to withhold as a check upon one less worthy; the object was, to leave a part of the inheritance at the disposal of the testator, and to distribute a part in such proportions as should seem most likely to promote the prosperity of the commonwealth.

Of this latter opinion was Mirabeau; but he spake no longer from the tribune, which had so often resounded with his eloquence, but from the dark and silent regions of the dead. While the law of successions continued in agitation, he was seized with an internal disease, the seat of which was said to be the pericardium, and at the early age of forty-two was cut off in the meridian of earthly glory. During the most severe part of his illness, and even while struggling in the arms of death, he continued still the man of the public. A few hours before his decease he lent for the bishop of Autun, and observed to him, that the law of inheritances was the order of the day. He requested him to take down his sentiments on the subject, and report them to the national assembly. It is difficult to say whether the affliction with which they heard the news of his death, or the respect which they seemed to pay to his last sentiments, was more honourable and conspicuous. Some suspicions were entertained
... that

that he died by poison; but, on opening his body, no proofs were found to justify such a conjecture*.

The present age has not seen a more extraordinary character than M. de Mirabeau. His talents were brilliant, and the times and situation were favourable to the exercise of them. He was formed by nature and by habit to govern and direct a popular assembly. His deep penetration, his promptitude, his fluent eloquence, his powerful voice, were all adapted to command attention, and to silence or confute. Born of a noble, though not of an opulent family, his early education had initiated him in all the engaging, all the social arts; his love of pleasure had led him into a variety of situations, and had made him perfectly acquainted with the human character; the persecution and distress which he had encountered in early life, had rendered him firm; a tedious confinement had rendered him studious. Few statesmen possessed more extensive views; few orators have been capable of bolder flights, of a more passionate address, or a more energetic expression.

Of his private life we profess to know but little; common report, however, has not spoken of him in this view

* Dissection, however, does not always afford decisive proof upon this subject. Mirabeau died suddenly, and died at a most critical period.—If he died by poison, he certainly was poisoned by some of his own party, for no others could have access to him. It is well known that suspicions were entertained, for some time previous to his death, that he had been purchased by the court; and whether the suspicion was well founded or not, it is certain that the leaders of the Jacobins and republican party were extremely jealous of his authority and weight with the people. But whatever was the cause of his death, it was a most unfortunate event for France. The new constitution was almost entirely his work, and had he lived he would have defended it: and probably by his abilities and power with the people might have prevented many of the calamities and enormities which have since afflicted and disgraced his country.—From the death of Mirabeau almost every public measure has been injudicious and impolitic.

in the most favourable terms. His private character clouded with suspicion his public conduct; though it must be confessed, that there is nothing upon record which justifies such conjectures. Though he defended royalty, it would be harsh to say that he did it only to promote his interest with the monarch; though he pleaded for the admission of ministers to the legislative body, we have no authority to assert, that he meant to solicit an employment. He professes of himself, that his system of politics was that which is termed the moderate system. Perhaps every man who sees deeply into human nature, and who knows the weakness of mankind, and the instability of popular counsels, will be moderate. He is even said in his last illness to have expressed his fears lest the democratic party of France should go too far in weakening the executive government.

As an orator, the fairest testimony to his memory is the amazing power which he possessed in a numerous and turbulent assembly, and his confessedly excelling all the efforts of his illustrious rivals and contemporaries. The faculty on which he appears most to have valued himself, was that of improving on the observations of others, and perpetually drawing even from his adversaries a copious fund of matter. His writings are unequal, and not unfrequently obscure. In delineating the characters of other men, he is severe, sarcastic, and uncandid; and in his gallery of portraits (if it be indisputably his)* he appears to have made sacrifices to jealousy and envy unworthy of his own great talents, and unbecoming a liberal mind.

The honours which he received from his country are perhaps unparalleled in the present age. During his illness his door was besieged by enquiring citizens, whose countenances evinced that they considered him as the saviour

* This, however, is more than doubted by some good judges. — Why have we not an authentic collection of his works?

of their country. The directory of Paris and the national assembly decreed a mourning of ten days. By a resolution of the legislature also, a public funeral was ordered, and was attended by the national assembly, the ministers, the magistrates and judges in their robes, the national guard of Paris, the society of Friends of the Constitution, or Jacobins, and an incredible number of spectators. The magnificent new church of St. Genevieve was consecrated for the reception of the remains of great men, and Mirabeau was the first who was publicly decreed that honour. As that church however was not complete, the body was for the present deposited in St. Etienne du Mont, which adjoins St. Genevieve, by the side of the coffin which contains the ashes of Descartes.

The next discussion which engaged the attention of the assembly, was the organization of the ministry. The ministers were declared responsible; and it was also decreed, that no member of the national assembly could take any part in administration till four years after the conclusion of that legislature of which he was a member. The appointment of ministers was vested in the king; but their number was to be regulated by the legislature. The ministers then appointed were, 1st a minister of justice, who was to keep the great seal; to execute all laws relative to the sanctioning of decrees; to preserve correspondence with all the inferior departments of justice; to submit to the legislature all questions of jurisprudence, &c. 2d, A minister of war, to superintend the regulation of all the troops of the line, &c. to order the movements of the armies against the enemy, &c. 3d, A minister of foreign affairs, to superintend and conduct all correspondence with foreign courts; to enforce the execution of treaties; and to have a general care of the political and commercial interests of the kingdom. 4th, A minister of marine and for the colonies. The minister of foreign affairs to have a salary of 150,000 livres (about 7,400l.)
and

and the rest 100,000 livres (about 5,000*l.*) per annum. The king and the ministers to compose a great council of state, for the due exercise of the executive power.

The noblesse assembled on the borders of Alsace, for the purpose of reconquering their titles, began now to create some alarm in the people. The emigrant army had been reviewed by the prince de Condé; their uniform was black, faced with yellow, with a death's head surrounded with a laurel wreath on one cuff, and a sword on the other, with the motto, "Conquer or die." The emigrants also it was added, were well received by most of the German princes, and every thing appeared hostile on the frontiers. As the cardinal de Rohan had taken an active part in seducing the people from their duties, an act of impeachment was decreed against him and some other of the principal emigrants.

With this circumstance several others occurred to keep awake the ever-watchful eye of popular suspicion. The king, whether he entertained them through prejudice and predilection, or through mere compassion, was surrounded with non-juring priests, and other persons of a dubious character; and the people had not forgotten the singular transaction of the Thuilleries on the 28th of February, which in all probability was frequently exaggerated and misrepresented to them. However, therefore, we may condemn, we cannot be surprised at the tumult which took place on the 18th of April, while the royal family was preparing to set out for St. Cloud, where they intended to pass the Easter holidays. The populace, who considered this as only foreboding the flight of the king, and a counter-revolution, clamorously surrounded the carriage, and insisted on their majesties' return. It was in vain that M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette opposed this phrensy; in vain they exerted themselves to procure a free passage for the carriage. A set of orators better adapted to the ears of the common people, exclaimed,

“If the king escapes, there will be a civil war, and the streets of Paris will be deluged with the blood of the citizens.” The national guard refused to act—“We know, said the grenadiers, “that we are violating the law; but the safety of the country is the first of laws.”

The royal family, in short, was obliged to return. The king on the following day repaired to the assembly, where, with becoming firmness and dignity, he complained of the insult, and declared his intention of persevering in his resolution. He was answered in a respectful speech by the president; and he proceeded on his journey. At the same time, his majesty embraced this opportunity of notifying to all the foreign courts his acceptance of the constitution; and, in compliance with a request from the municipality of Paris, dismissed from about his person those obnoxious persons who had been a principal cause of the suspicion. New assurances of fidelity to the constitution, and of loyalty to the king, passed between the sovereign and the national assembly, and all was quiet.

The writers of all parties have done justice to the spirit and propriety which distinguished the conduct of M. de la Fayette on this occasion. On the 21st, he, with the other staff-officers, sent in their resignation, observing, that since the national guards would no longer obey, they must cease to retain a command which was merely nominal. This event was no sooner known than all Paris was seized with a general consternation; nor could all the machinations of La Fayette's enemies prevent their soliciting in a body, and under circumstances the most respectful to him, that he would re-assume the command. After some hesitation on his part, and the strongest assurances given on theirs of entire obedience; he agreed on the 24th to comply with their wishes.

During these transactions in the capital, the provinces could not even yet be pronounced in a perfect state of tranquillity.

tranquillity. At Toulouse in particular, several citizens were assassinated on the night of the 17th of March. The murder was attributed to the officers and soldiers of the regiment of St. Barthelemi. The people immediately took arms, but happily the tumult ended in burning the colours of the regiment. The real authors of the assassination, however, escaped into Spain.

These commotions which agitated the mother country, where however trifling when compared with the fatal animosities which prevailed in the colonies. The decree of March 1790 was so far from quieting the jealousies and disturbances which existed, that its immediate effect seemed to be to kindle the whole of the French West Indies into a flame. Before the arrival of the commissioners who were to enforce the decree, a mulatto of the name of Ogé attempted to excite a rebellion in St. Domingo; his party was, however, defeated; he took refuge among the Spaniards; they surrendered him, and he expired upon the wheel. The very troops which had been sent from France to restore tranquillity, became infected with the spirit of insubordination. A regiment of native troops too, which was named the regiment of Port-au-Prince, assassinated their colonel. The rebellious regiment was embarked, and sent to Europe; but the king's commissaries still exercised a feeble and dubious authority.

But the very decree of the assembly, the substance of which has been already intimated, proved the most deplorable source of discord. In that decree, parochial assemblies were directed to be held previous to the forming of a colonial constitution; but no definition was given of the persons who were to form these meetings. The people of colour, not being excepted, concluded that they were virtually comprised in the law. The most violent contests ensued, and a deputation was sent over to the national assembly, to demand an explication.

In May 1791, the matter was warmly agitated in the assembly. The advocates in favour of the people of colour urged the declaration of rights, which the assembly itself had agreed on as the basis of their new constitution, and even appealed to a higher authority, the great fundamental principles of reason and justice. The colonial deputies, and their abettors, confessed that the prejudice against the people of colour was absurd and unjust; but they alledged that it was a prejudice which could not be annihilated by a single decree, or be obliterated in a short space of time. That a law which should at once elevate these persons to the same rank as the white colonists, would expose the island to the severest calamities. The assembly found itself in a most difficult predicament. The free people of colour on the one hand, and their dependents, were numerous and wealthy; and, on the other, the whites in the French islands were masters of 200,000 negroes, were possessed of all the actual power, and had exhibited the most alarming symptoms of independence. They had already opened their ports to foreign nations, and had threatened to transfer their allegiance to the English government. The troops which had been sent had been debauched from their duty, and corrupted in their principles, and little reliance could be placed upon new debarkations. In this dilemma, the legislature proceeded gradually, and with extreme caution.

On the 13th of May, a decree was passed to quiet the apprehensions of the colonist with respect to the liberation of the negroes; and it was established as a constitutional article, "that a legislature of the mother country should decide nothing with respect to the liberation of the slaves, but upon the actual and formal demand of the colonial assemblies." This was followed, on the 15th, by another decree equally cautious, and in effect partial to the white colonists; which was, that people of colour, born of free parents on both sides, should be admitted

admitted into all the colonial assemblies; and as to those whose parents on one side only were free, the legislature would not determine any thing till they heard the sentiments of the colonial assemblies.

Thus, by a repetition of the same timid policy which had produced the disturbances, the assembly still continued to widen the breach.—Neither party was satisfied with the decree. The majority of the people of colour were not born of parents who were both free, since it happened that a considerable number were the offspring of slaves who had been in a state of concubinage with their masters; and the white colonists, on the other hand, found their daring prejudice invaded even by this trifling innovation. The most fatal discord manifested itself immediately. The assembly had sent over no troops to enforce its own decree. The colonists complained, that the decree in itself was impracticable. Such a scrutiny as it required into the pedigree and extraction of individuals, could not be conducted without offence, without difficulty, and litigation. The white colonists represented in the strongest terms, that this last decree was a total violation of the preamble to the former; though the assembly had sanctioned the continuance of slavery, they still feared the abolition of the slave trade, and determined to relax nothing in their severity and oppression of the people of colour.

In the mean time, the enemies of the revolution were not inactive in inflaming the minds of both parties. The slaves, whether instigated by incendiaries, or whether finding the civil authority which held them in obedience almost annihilated, soon began to take a part in the disputes; and discord, violence, and bloodshed pervaded every part of the colonies. In Martinico, and the smaller islands, after much contest, order has been partly restored; but St. Domingo still remains a melancholy scene of desolation and civil war.

In the latter end of June, the city of Paris, and the whole kingdom of France, were thrown into the most violent consternation by the desertion of the king. It was remarked, that for some weeks previous to this event, the emigrants had greatly encreased; and the circulating specie of the kingdom disappeared, as it were by a miracle.—The non-juring priests were more active and audacious than ever, and emissaries were employed to corrupt the soldiery of almost every regiment, and especially on the frontiers.

The perfidious Bouillé, who had so wantonly imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-soldiers, in the affair of Nancy, was the principal agent on this occasion. By a variety of fictions and excuses, he evaded for a long time the civic oath; but at length he took it with such spontaneous tokens of zeal, as left no room to doubt of his fidelity. He was entrusted with the protection of the frontiers; a trust which he exercised more consistently with his own character and views, than with the principles of duty and honour. He either permitted the fortifications of all the frontier towns to run to decay, or insisted on their delapidation. The garrisons were left without provisions or ammunition. The national soldiery were replaced wherever it was possible with foreigners, and the utmost pains were taken to spread disunion and discontent among the national troops. The place nominally appointed for the retreat of the king, was Montmedy, a fortified town of Luxemburgh; but it was generally supposed that his actual residence was to be within the emperor's dominions. Here the emigrants from all quarters were to be assembled, and were to act in concert with the powerful succours which were to be furnished by Prussia and Austria, while other diversions were to be made on the side of Spain and Savoy, by the respective monarchs of those countries.

Such is the account which is most generally believed of the motives and plan of this ill-concerted and unfortunate

fortunate journey; unfortunate for the country, because it destroyed that confidence which the people ought to have in the executive government; and doubly unfortunate for the monarch, because it for ever lost him the love of a people, who, in the most distressful and tumultuous circumstances of the revolution, was never before known to waver or abate in the personal regard which they retained for their sovereign. The king's intention was not kept such a profound secret, but that it was known to M. Gouvion, one of the officers of the national guard, who communicated it to the mayor and M. la Fayette: the guard was in consequence doubled, and such precautions were taken as appeared likely to prevent every possibility of effecting the intention. On the night of the 20th of June, however, the king, the queen, madame Elizabeth, sister to the king, and the whole of the royal family, disappeared. Monsieur and madame took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmedy.

If a test had been wanting of the spirit and patriotism of the nation, none could have been devised so satisfactory as this. The assembly received the news with a calmness and dignity, sufficient almost to discountenance opposition. Their first care was the public safety and tranquillity. They committed to the ministers the execution of the laws, and the other political functions of the king. A new oath of fidelity to the nation was prescribed to the military. Couriers were dispatched to all the different parts of the kingdom, with orders to stop the fugitives, if possible, and to recommend the preservation of peace and good order. After these precautions, the assembly, with unparalleled calmness, resumed their ordinary labours, and proceeded to the discussion of the penal code.

Amongst the people, the first impulse was a combined emotion of consternation, surprise, and indignation.—

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The king's arms and effigies were taken down and broken by the populace of Paris. A proclamation from the assembly, however, soon restored order. The national guard assembled; deputations from different bodies appeared at the bar of the assembly, with the strongest and most firm professions of patriotism and obedience.

Though the majority of the nation, however, thus evinced its attachment to the revolution, the flight of the king was viewed in very different lights, according as the different parties felt their particular prejudices affected by the event. At the first of the revolution, two parties only divided the mass of the people; the friends of privileges and aristocracy, and the friends of liberty: but the latter had since divided, and a party more dangerous to the new constitution than even the aristocracy themselves had started up; a party, who, in quest of ideal perfection, are never satisfied with any established form of government; but whose unquiet minds, ever in pursuit of a visionary theory, neglect the more important objects of peace, industry, and stability of government, which are the only circumstances that can give greatness or prosperity to a nation.

To the republican party the departure of the king was a matter of triumph; their love of change was now likely to meet at least a present gratification: they enlarged upon the absurdity of a government which enabled an individual to throw the whole state into confusion: they represented the king as a perjured monster, whose patriotism and love for his people would presently be evinced by his entering France at the head of hostile armies, to ravage the country, and to drench it in blood. The loss of authority, they stated, must be ever, to him who once possessed it, a subject of regret; and they exhorted the lovers of liberty, even if the king's flight should be prevented, to make use of the opportunity to relieve the nation from a natural enemy.

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The more temperate and sober thinkers saw the matter in a different point of view. The majority of them preferred a limited monarchy, as at least the most expedient form of government, and considered it as absurd in a nation enjoying perfect liberty, to dispute about the mode or form in which it should be administered. They considered, that even if the republican form was preferable, custom and habit had inured the French to monarchy, and their strongest prejudices inclined them to support it: that the nation was not in a state to endure the shock of a second revolution. They therefore contemplated it as the happiest event that could occur, should the king by any fortunate chance be restored; and forelaw a train of the most formidable evils threatening the kingdom and the people, should he fall into the hands of his enemies.

The hopes of the republicans were blasted for the moment by the vigilance and activity of two obscure individuals. To favour their escape, the royal family had obtained a passport through the medium of the Russian ambassador, in the name of a baroness de Körtz, with her suite, as travelling to Frankfort. They travelled in the most private manner till they found themselves at a considerable distance from the capital, when they were furnished by Bouillé with detachments of dragoons, under the pretence of guarding some treasure for the pay of the soldiers. They proceeded without interruption for one hundred and fifty-six miles, and were but a few leagues from the frontiers when they were arrested. At St. Menchould, the post-master, M. Drouet, had formerly been a dragoon in the regiment of Condé.—He immediately recognised the queen, and was forcibly attracted by the resemblance of the king to his portrait on the assignat of fifty livres. He was confirmed in his suspicions, on seeing the detachment of dragoons relieved by a detachment of hussars, and determined to stop them; but, being alone, was prudent enough not to expose himself
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to the opposition of the soldiers. He suffered the carriage to pass, but mounted a swift horse, and took a cross road to Varennes, which was their next stage. He communicated his suspicions to the post-master there, who had also formerly been a dragoon; and they concluded that the only mode of effecting their purpose was to barricade the street and bridge over which the carriages must necessarily pass. It was at this time near midnight, but fortunately, on the bridge there stood at the moment a waggon loaded with furniture; they overlet it, and called together the mayor, the procurer de la commune, and the commandant of the national guard, and in a few minutes the number of patriots was increased to eight men. The commandant and the procureur approached the principal carriage, and asked the names of the travellers. The queen petulantly answered, they were in haste, and produced the passport, which was thought a sufficient warrant by several persons; but the post-masters combated the opinion, on the ground of its not being countersigned by the president of the national assembly; and asked why a Russian baroness should be escorted by the military of France? It was determined therefore to stop the travellers; and they retired to the house of the procureur. After some parley the procureur produced a picture of the king, and asked him "if that was not his portrait." His majesty then throwing off his disguise, replied, "My friends, I am indeed your king—I have fled from Paris, from poinards and from bayonets—I have determined to take refuge in the provinces, where I hope to find loyalty and respect—My route is for Montmedi—I have no intention of leaving the kingdom; I entreat you not to impede my progress."

The national guard now arrived in considerable numbers, and at the same moment the hussars, who endeavoured sword in hand to force the house where the king was; but were answered by the national guard, that they should

should never carry him off alive. The commandant of the national guard had placed at each end of the street two field-pieces, which however were not charged; but they were sufficient to intimidate the hussars, who, upon the commandant ordering the artillery-men to their posts with their matches in their hands, relinquished their object, and quietly surrendered the king to the custody of the national guard.

The news of these transactions was received by the assembly with inexpressible satisfaction. M. Bouillé was suspended from his functions; and orders were given for arresting him, and all who appeared to be concerned in the flight of the king: but Bouillé evaded the national resentment by flying the kingdom. The assembly next appointed two commissioners to examine the inferior agents of the king's flight; and three commissioners, Messrs. Tronchet, d'André, and Dupont, were appointed to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family was escorted to Paris by a considerable body of the national guard, who increased in numbers as they approached the metropolis. Messrs. Barnave, Petion, and Latour Maubourg had been dispatched towards Varennes for the purpose of accompanying them back to Paris; and public tranquillity was so well preserved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the 25th without any disturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey. On the 27th the commissioners waited on the king and queen to receive their declarations. The king persisted in the assertion that he had made from the first, that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, and meant only to fix at Montmedi, which is a fortified town, till the vigour of government should in some measure be restored, and the constitution settled. A further reason for preferring this as the place of his residence, was, he added, that in case of any disturbance on the frontiers he might be ready to present himself in the post
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of danger, and to prevent insurrection. His reasons for quitting Paris, he declared to be the insults to which he was liable there, and the inflammatory publications which were daily produced, particularly against the queen, which rendered him apprehensive for her safety still more than for his own in the metropolis. The declaration of the queen rested entirely on the plea, "that as the king had determined to remove himself and family, it was impossible that she could admit the thought of voluntarily parting from him and her children."

Monseigneur and Madame, who had taken a different road, were more successful in effecting their escape, and arrived safe at Brussels on the 23d.

The necessity of completing the fabric of the constitution became now more than ever apparent, and the assembly laboured incessantly on the municipal code and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preserve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was passed, the substance of which was, that such of the emigrants as did not return within two months should be subject to tripple taxes for the year 1791.

The flight of the king seemed indeed the signal for the emigrants to commence their hostile proceedings. M. Cazalés and some others of the aristocratic party sent in their resignation to the national assembly; troops were levied on the frontiers in the king's name, and many of the former officers of the royal regiments exerted themselves to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance by promises of advancement and high rewards: their attempts, however, were in general without success; a circumstance which has not been adverted to by those who suppose the attachment of the French soldiery to the revolution to have been entirely venal. As these levies were made in the name of the king, he thought it proper formally to disavow them, which he did in a letter to the national assembly dated the 7th of July.

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The return of the king appeared to make little alteration in the designs of the sovereigns who were confederated against France. Spain, indeed, whose political interests were more diametrically opposite to a rupture with France, renewed on the occasion its professions of amity. The other courts kept still at a distance, and the German frontier was crowded with troops, and every where engaged in military preparations. He must know little indeed of public affairs, who can suppose that such a circumstance could make any alterations in the intentions of the combined courts. The politics of despots are always selfish; increase of territory is still their favourite pursuit. It would be weak to suppose that compassion for the emigrants, sympathy for the king, or even zeal for the maintenance of royal authority, would be motives strong enough to engage them in the expences and difficulties of war. A stronger incitement must be supposed; and that could be no other than the dismemberment of France, connected most probably with the destruction and annihilation of the petty states of Germany. Victorious, Austria and Prussia may be enriched with the spoils of France; and even disappointed in that object, as the smaller states of Germany will ultimately perhaps be the chief theatre of war, excuses may be found for placing them under the protection of more powerful empires, and for aggrandizing these at the expence of their weak and indigent neighbours.

France, however, still continued in too united a state to warrant any immediate enterprise against her. Addresses breathing the strongest professions of loyalty and attachment to the constitution poured in from every quarter. Foreigners resident in France seemed solicitous of the honour of being classed among her citizens. The conduct of the assembly was not unworthy the confidence which the nation seemed to place in its virtue and patriotism. Calmness, dignity and moderation characterized
its

its proceedings at this period. In opposition to the violent republicans, the legislature tenaciously adhered to its constitutional decree concerning the inviolability of the king's person. Even the emigrants were treated with a degree of indulgence; the Prince de Condé himself, though professedly in a state of war with this country, did not experience either haste or severity from the assembly. M. Duveyrier was sent as envoy to him and the other princes, to solicit their return to the enjoyment of happiness and security in the bosom of their country; but this ambassador of peace was imprisoned, and insulted in the most barbarous manner.

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the constitution, was however interrupted by a short but disgraceful riot at Paris. Several efforts had been made by ill disposed persons, supposed to be in the pay of the emigrants, or of the hostile princes, to disturb the public tranquillity, by circulating lists of members of the assembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their trust, and other insidious manœuvres. These efforts however all proved abortive till the morning of the 17th of July, when the magistrates were alarmed by the report that a large body of seditious persons were about to assemble in the Champ de Mars, the professed object of whom was to petition against the re-establishment of the king, a measure which the Jacobin club had been very active to promote. Two of the magistrates were sent to the suburb of St. Antoine, where they had the satisfaction to find that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock, however, two unfortunate persons, who had secreted themselves under the altar of the confederation, were murdered by the mob, on the unfounded suspicion that they had intended to blow it up with gunpowder. Three municipal officers were therefore dispatched, at the head of a battalion of national guards, to seize the murderers and

and disperse the insurgents. The mob attacked the national guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on M. la Fayette himself. The man was seized; but M. la Fayette, with a false generosity, permitted him to escape. The red flag was now displayed, and martial law proclaimed. The national guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not disperse till about twelve were killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. It was asserted, with what truth it is difficult to say, that foreign emissaries were discovered among the populace distributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

The period now approached, when the constituent assembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for some time employed in compiling and digesting into a code the constitutional decrees, and on the 4th of August it was read to the assembly by M. Thouret, and debated article by article on the following days. On the third of September it was presented to the king. He signified his acceptance of it in writing on the 13th; and the following day he appeared at the assembly, introduced by a deputation of sixty members, and solemnly consecrated the assent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath "to be faithful to the nation, and to the law, and to employ the powers vested in him for the maintenance of the constitution, and the due execution of the law."

While the constitutional act was in agitation an additional decree was passed, importing that no branch of the royal family could exercise any employment in the gift of the people; and on the 30th of September the constituent national assembly terminated an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, and spontaneously dissolved itself.

In treating of the different acts of the assembly, we have freely criticised such parts of the new constitution as appeared liable to objection. One general error must appear

pear on the perusal of it to most readers; and that is, the extreme weakness of the executive power. Unless the agents of government are protected and supported in the execution of their several duties, their operations must necessarily be timid, feeble, and ineffective. Perhaps the impeachment of ministers, which is a most solemn, a most important, and also a most dangerous branch of legislative authority, unless exercised with great discretion, ought to be subjected to such formalities as might render it difficult upon frivolous pretences. Perhaps the concurrence of a certain portion of the legislative body ought to be required before an impeachment could be brought forward or moved for; since it appears that, if a popular harangue from a single demagogue is sufficient to displace a minister, and even to subject him to a criminal prosecution, these offices will never be executed by men of spirit and character.

Besides those errors of legislation which we have noted, the leaders of the revolution were guilty of some others. Before the constituent assembly dissolved itself, measures ought to have been taken for assembling the new legislature in some place where its deliberations would have been more free and independent than they could be in the factious metropolis; and they should have corrected the error into which their own vanity betrayed them of admitting a numerous and insolent audience to seat themselves in the galleries, as judges of the debate, which they frequently disturbed by their insolent testimonies of applause or disapprobation.

Another serious misfortune to France was the influence acquired by the popular societies. The Jacobin club originated from a small and secret association of about forty gentlemen and men of letters who united themselves long previous to the meeting of the states-general, for the purpose of disseminating political knowledge among the mass of the people. It was afterwards melted into the
Breton

Breton club, at Versailles, during the first sessions of the national assembly; and the society becoming numerous on the removal of the king and assembly to Paris, it obtained possession of the chapel of the Jacobins on the dissolution of the monastic orders. The popularity which it acquired soon rendered it exceedingly numerous, and this circumstance pointed it out as a proper engine to work upon the passions of the multitude. From a very early period of its institution, one principal object was to discuss such political questions as were likely to be agitated in the national assembly, in order that the members might act in concert, according to the decisions of the majority. The plan was reduced to a system, when the club became numerous, and a regular president and secretaries were chosen, and it became a national assembly in miniature. Besides the members, an immense multitude of auditors were admitted into the galleries, who applauded or condemned the speakers as passion or caprice dictated. Here the most inflammatory declamations were heard with the most clamorous testimonies of approbation, and every proposition in the least inclining to moderation of sentiment or wisdom in political conduct was reprobated and condemned. In few words, it became ultimately the mere vehicle of faction, where, as is usually the case in such instances, the worst men and the worst measures were commonly triumphant. *Fraternal* societies (according to the barbarous jargon, which was adopted as the language of anarchy) were instituted in all the considerable towns in the kingdom; and the only object of emulation in these nests of political hornets seemed to be, which should act most unwisely and least for the public benefit.

In imitation of the Jacobins, several other societies were instituted for the purpose of political discussion; and thus, independent of the perversion of sentiment, an intolerable waste of time was occasioned to the lower clas-

ses of society. It should have been one of the great objects of the national assembly to dissolve or restrain these factious assemblages, and to restore the nation, from that political delirium, in which so great a revolution must necessarily involve them, to the sober paths of industry, economy, and proper subordination.

C H A P. VI.

Character of the legislative assembly—The meeting of that body—Indications of faction—Threatening appearances—Convention of Pilitz—Concert of princes—Decree concerning the king's brothers—Answers from foreign courts—League formed in the north—Decree against the emigrants—Exercise of the royal veto—Intrigues of the republican faction—Imprudence of the emigrants—Troubles in St. Domingo—Non-juring priests—Decrees against them—Second interposition of the veto—King's speech on the state of foreign affairs—Petion elected mayor of Paris—Club of Feuillans—Seditious proceedings of the Jacobins—Designs of Leopold—State of the French finances—Troubles in the colonies—Hostile appearances—Impeachment of ministers—Death of the Emperor—His character—Triumph of the Jacobins—New ministry—Dunourier—Decree of sequestration against the emigrants.

WITH the constituent assembly the sun of French liberty set. With it the wisdom, the moderation, and the dignity of the nation was dissolved. That fatal decree which deprived the country of all the assistance which might be derived from the exertion of the most brilliant talents matured by experience, placed in their seats men incapable either from want of principle or of ability to exercise the sacred and important function of legislators. The new assembly consisted chiefly of country gentlemen, whose inexperience in political affairs rendered them incompetent to act for themselves, and made them the
passive

passive dupes of a party, which, though not numerous, compensated for this defect by its activity and boldness. This faction consisted of men of letters, but not of the highest rank of literature. The editors of newspapers, and the publishers of periodical libels, were, by the singular change in the affairs of France, elevated to the rank of senators, and soon assumed to themselves the authority of sovereigns. Even of this faction, however, it would be uncandid in the extreme, to consider all the members as equally unprincipled. The great majority of them were decided republicans; but some were mere enthusiasts in this system, while the object of others was undoubtedly to gratify their private ambition, or to satiate their private revenge. In this point, however, they were all agreed, that no government but a pure democracy was adapted to the condition of free men, and that France could never be happy and flourishing till every vestige of monarchy was finally obliterated. This point they determined to enforce, and few of them, we fear, hesitated with respect to the means by which it was to be accomplished.

There is something in true religion which softens the ferocious passions of man; it can arrest the hand of the assassin, it can whisper peace to the perturbed spirit. It rejects the attainment of its end by unlawful means, and follows rather the dictates of conscience, and immediate duty, than the most splendid visions which the imagination may form of distant perfection. This only safeguard of moral principle the republican philosophers of France unfortunately wanted; they were even bigots in infidelity; the throne and the altar were equally obnoxious to them; and many of the excesses into which they plunged, may be more properly attributed to their irreligious prejudices than to any other cause.

Such were the general outline of the first legislative assembly, as it was called, though we must except from censure some respectable and independent characters, who

fall properly under neither of the classes which we have described. The assembly met on the 1st of October, and the following day proceeded to the verification of their powers. On the 3d M. Pastoret was elected president, and M. M. Francois, Garron de Coulon, Cerutti, Lacepede, and Guyton-Morveau, were proclaimed secretaries. On the fourth all the members of the assembly solemnly took the constitutional oath in the following terms :

“ I swear to maintain to the utmost of my power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituent national assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and neither to propose nor consent to any thing, during the continuance of this legislature, which may be injurious or contrary to it; and to be in every thing faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.”

A deputation of the members was at the same time appointed to wait upon the king, to acquaint his majesty that the assembly was finally constituted.

The spirit with which the future deliberations of this assembly were to be conducted, soon began to manifest itself. On the return of the deputation to the assembly on the 5th, the reporter having stated that the king had informed them by the minister of justice, that he would receive the deputation at nine o'clock, one of the republican members adverted to a decree in the month of July 1789, which enacted that the assembly and its deputies should correspond directly with the king, and not through the medium of the ministers: that decree was therefore re-enacted, and enforced with peculiar vigour.

The king having announced that he would repair to the assembly on Friday the 12th, it was next debated in what manner he should be received. In the decree that followed this debate, the mean and trifling spirit by which the assembly was afterwards to be actuated, was clearly evinced.

evinced. The moment the king entered the assembly the members were to rise and be uncovered; but as soon as he arrived at the bar, they were to sit down and cover themselves. The king was to be seated on the *left* of the president, not on an elevated throne, but on a similar seat to that of the president. These petty indignities were as impolitic as they were undeserved, and were inconsistent with magnanimity, and utterly unbecoming a great nation.

Previous to the arrival of the king on the 7th, several deputations appeared at the bar, among the rest, one from the commons of Paris, which renewed their protestations to maintain the constitution inviolate; the king also sent written notice, that he had appointed M. Bertrand to be the naval minister, in the room of M. Thevenard.

Notwithstanding the jealousy which had been manifested by the assembly on the 5th, and the desire which they had since shewn of degrading the regal dignity, yet the first meeting between the king and the legislature was cordial. The excellent temper of Louis did not permit him to retain resentment, and the courtesy and affability with which he entered the hall, rendered the most inveterate republican respectful. The king addressed the assembly in a judicious and patriotic oration. He pointed out briefly to them the nature of the duties they had undertaken to perform, and recommended some objects as requiring instant attention. The state of the finances, he observed, was such as required strong and speedy exertion to establish an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure; to accelerate the assessment and collection of taxes, and to introduce an invariable order into all the departments of this immense administration. The revision of the civil code was also an object which he recommended to their care; and the simplifying the mode of proceeding so as to render the attainment of justice more easy and more prompt.

He proceeded to enlarge on the necessity of a system of national education; on the organization of the army, and the propriety of restoring order and discipline. He reserved himself to a future occasion for the communication of his sentiments concerning the navy. He stated his hopes that the nation would not be troubled by any attack from abroad; recommended, in a style of paternal regard, unanimity and unalterable confidence between the two great branches of government, the legislative and executive powers, as he pointedly remarked that the enemies to the prosperity of the country were continually labouring to disunite them.

The speech of the king was received with unbounded applauses, and the president replied in terms of confidence and respect. He complimented the king on his appearance among the representatives of the nation, which he termed a new engagement with the country. He observed that the constitution, so far from diminishing the real power of the king, had only placed it on the firmest foundation; it had converted those into friends, who had formerly been termed subjects; and had made him the first monarch in the world. He concluded with expressing the wish of the assembly to co-operate with the benevolent views of the king, to purify the business of legislation, to re-animate public credit, to repress anarchy. "Such, sire," said he, "is our duty, such are our earnest wishes, such are yours; such are our hopes, the gratitude and blessings of the people will be our reward."

It would have been a circumstance truly fortunate for France if these sentiments had been sincere, or if this harmony had continued unbroken; but it was not merely the republican ardour of the new legislators, which revived the jealousy between the executive and legislative powers; a still more potent cause existed externally to which we have already though slightly alluded.

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The hostile preparations of the emperor and the continental powers; the veil of secrecy, which they cast over their proceedings; the vague and obscure terms in which they expressed themselves, compared with the open boasts and the imprudent and intemperate declarations of the emigrant princes and nobility, contributed to excite in the minds of the people a variety of suspicions, in which all the persons connected with the court were occasionally involved.

To unravel more explicitly the cause of these fatal jealousies, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumstances which afterwards afflicted this unhappy and distracted country, it will be necessary to have a retrospect to a transaction which occurred some months previous to the period of which we are now treating, but which was then faintly known by the vague insinuation of rumour, or by the unconnected intimations of some whose information appears to have been rather founded upon conjecture than upon competent evidence.

The meetings of great and powerful princes, like the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, have generally been considered as ominous to the peace and happiness of the world. Towards the close of the summer of 1791, an extraordinary convention of this kind took place at Pilnitz in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold and the present king of Prussia, between whom as principals a treaty was formed, to which other powers are supposed to have afterwards acceded. The professed object of this treaty was sufficiently profligate and atrocious. It was the hostile invasion of France and the new modelling of its government. In his circular letter from Pavia of the 6th of July, the emperor had avowed a similar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in a resistance to those principles so obnoxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe.

Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the empress of Russia is also to be considered as principally concerned, is generally supposed to have had more extensive views, and to have involved projects still more offensive, if possible, to the dictates of justice, and to the peace of Europe. The partition of France, as well as of Poland, or at least of a considerable portion of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new modelling of the Germanic circles, are strongly suspected to have been the real principles upon which this infamous compact was founded. Dark and mysterious as the conduct of the allied courts has been, relative to the substance of the conference, the imprudence of some of the inferior agents has dropped occasional intimations which can leave little doubt of the criminality of their designs*.

Considering,

* The following paper, which has since been made public, will serve to unveil this mystery of *iniquity*, and cannot be read without indignation by any friend of liberty and justice:

Partition Treaty between the courts in concert, concluded and signed at Pavia, in the month of July, 1791.

“His majesty the emperor will retake all that Louis XIV. conquered in the Austrian Netherlands; and uniting these provinces to the said Netherlands, will give them to his serene highness the elector palatine, so that these new possessions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Austrasia.

“His majesty the emperor will preserve, for ever, the property and possession of Bavaria, to make in future an indivisible mass with the domains and hereditary possessions of the house of Austria.

“Her serene highness the archduchess Maria-Christiana shall be, conjointly with his serene highness her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into hereditary possession of the duchy of Lorraine.

“Alsace shall be restored to the empire; and the bishop of Strasburgh, as well as the chapter, shall recover their ancient privileges; and the ecclesiastical sovereigns of Germany shall do the same.

“If the Swiss cantons consent and accede to the coalition, it may be proposed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the bishopric

Considering, however, the convention of Pilsnitz in the most favourable point of view, and accepting the explanation

bishopric of Porentrui, the defiles of Franche-Comte, and even those of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailliwicks, as well as the territory of Verloy, which intersects the Pays de Vaud.

“Should his majesty the king of Sardinia subscribe to the coalition, la Bresse, le Pugey, and the Pays de Gex, usurped by France from Savoy, shall be restored to him.

“In case his Sardinian majesty can make a grand diversion, he shall be suffered to take Dauphiny, to belong to him for ever, as the nearest descendants of the ancient dauphins.

“His majesty the king of Spain shall have Roussillon and Bearn, with the island of Corfica; and he shall take possession of the French part of St. Domingo.

“Her majesty the empress of all the Russias shall take upon herself the invasion of Poland, and at the same time retain Kami-nieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

“His majesty the emperor shall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the small forts of Servia, and those on the river Lurna.

“His majesty the king of Prussia, by means of the above-mentioned invasion of all the Russias into Poland, shall make an acquisition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the Palatinate on the east to the confines of Silesia.

“His majesty the king of Prussia shall besides acquire Luface, and his serene highness the elector of Saxony shall in exchange receive the rest of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary sovereign.

“His majesty the present king of Poland shall abdicate the throne, on receiving a suitable annuity.

“His royal highness the elector of Saxony shall give his daughter in marriage to his serene highness, the youngest son of his royal highness the grand duke of all the Russias, who will be the father of the hereditary kings of Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed)

“LEOPOLD

“PRINCE NASSAU,

“COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA,

“BISCHOFFSWERDER.”

“The king of England is said to have acceded to this treaty in March 1792. And Holland to have acceded afterwards, provided the arrangements respecting their limits with his imperial majesty

nation of its express framers, the proceeding is sufficiently unjust and absurd to warrant the most unqualified censure. If any thing on earth is sacred, it is the domestic œconomy of both nations and individuals. In private life the iniquity of interfering in a hostile manner in the internal state or household concerns of a neighbour, is felt and acknowledged by all mankind. Are then the rights of nations to be accounted less sacred than those of private citizens? Are the lives of millions, who must fall on both sides in such a contest, of less consequence than the property or anxiety of individuals? But this is not the worst; the principle, if one admitted, is subversive of every right, and necessarily sanctions every crime that can be committed against society. It sanctions robbery and murder. In this view, the conquests of Alexander and of Mahomet were acts of virtue; it was criminal to resist the ambitious projects of Louis XIV; and should the empress of Russia, at any future period, discover any thing to be new modelled in the laws or constitution of Great Britain, we are bound to receive her barbarous legions, not as enemies or invaders, but as philosophic friends, who are only come to make improvements in our condition, and benevolently to present us with that most inestimable of blessings, a despotic government.

France, at the moment when this royal banditti were plotting against her peace, might be said literally to be in a state of internal tranquillity. There existed parties in the nation, it is true; as must exist in every country which is newly agitated with the spirit of freedom: a large portion of her citizens might indeed be desirous of a republican government; but a still larger portion were

majesty should be made according to the desire of the Dutch republic before the partition.

“Spain renounced it when count d’Aranda came into office as minister, giving assurances, however, of the strictest neutrality.”

attached

attached to their king, and contented with the constitution which was then established. If these contracting powers were really well-wishers to the unfortunate Louis, they should have considered that plots and conspiracies only prosper in times of tumult and confusion; that the bad citizens have need of war, of internal and external distress, to accomplish their purposes; that weakened as the executive power was by the new constitution, it is in times of peace and tranquillity, it is when the people feel themselves happy, prosperous, and indolent, that the monarchical authority recovers its sway; and that there still remained an immense civil list, and a considerable patronage, which afforded a prospect of influence to the monarch.

But we cannot, in justice, attribute the conduct of these powers to any principle of benevolence, generosity, or humanity. The man who sets no value on the lives or the happiness of his own subjects, but will squander them even to achieve a degree of lost authority, or any temporal advantage for an individual, cannot be endued with any share of accuracy in moral arithmetic, cannot have the most liberal notions of virtue, cannot be supposed to act upon the broadest and most rational principles. Besides, if we observe the conduct of these princes with respect to Poland, it will afford the fairest comment on their motives with respect to France. It was not the cause of Louis, it was not entirely the cause of kings that influenced their determinations. They felt almost as little for Louis, as for his subjects; for if indeed they had properly estimated the probable consequences, they must have foreseen that these measures could only operate to his destruction, however unfavourably the contest might terminate for the French revolution. *He* must be overwhelmed in the storm whatever party might prevail; but that was a matter of small concern when put in competition with the private views and ambitious projects of arbitrary princes.

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The convention of Pilnitz, as we have intimated, was not unknown in France, though the full extent of the terms and conditions of the treaty was but imperfectly understood. It was impossible then in the nature of things that it could be known, that a concert of princes was formed for the express purpose of invading the country, of overturning the constitution, of re-establishing despotic authority, and that the minds of the people should not be agitated with fears and with suspicions. It was next to impossible, that a part of these suspicions should not fall upon the court. The queen in particular had never been popular, and even since the revolution, candour obliges us to confess, that upon the best inquiry we do not find her conduct to have been guarded with that strictness of prudence and reserve which the circumstances of the times required. The fatal flight of the king could not be eradicated from the minds of the people, and the imprudent proclamation of Bouillé could not be recollected without resentment and apprehension. The republican party, and the enemies of order and government, eagerly took advantage of these circumstances; the atrocity of the monarchical combination was magnified, and the whole was laid to the charge of the court and of Louis. The first movements of dissatisfaction were directed against the ministers, and to unsettle and dismiss the servants of the state in rapid succession, was the most certain means of disorganizing the government.

Such we apprehend to have been nearly the state of parties, at the period of which we are now treating.

The perturbed state of the public mind was manifested in the assembly even so early as in the evening session of the 8th of October, when the ministers were introduced into the assembly to render an account of their proceedings. On M. Montmorin being questioned with respect to the intercourse maintained with foreign powers, he replied that the intercourse with other nations had ceased during

during the suspension of the royal authority, and had only recommenced from the king's acceptance of the constitution. "I move," said M. Lacroix, with that impetuosity which distinguishes the nation, "that the minister for foreign affairs be obliged to answer more pointedly. However the royal functions may have been suspended, have we ceased to maintain ambassadors at these courts? These ambassadors must have been acquainted with whatever occurs at their respective courts, and they ought to have informed the minister."—"It is this correspondence, added he, which I wish to be laid open." After some altercation, a series of interrogatories was put to M. Montmorin, and the substance of his replies went to establish his former proposition, that the intercourse with foreign courts having ceased for a time he had nothing official or satisfactory to produce on that subject; that the correspondence alluded to contained nothing but vague and unsupported rumours, which it would be even dangerous to reveal; and that when any thing of certainty occurred, he would not fail to communicate it.

The subject was renewed on the succeeding day, and a decree was passed, ordering that the ministers should be obliged to inform the assembly concerning the state and arms of the national guards destined for the frontiers; concerning the motives for retarding the national Gendarmerie; concerning the neglect in replacing those officers in the troops of the line, who had deserted their corps; concerning the delay in sending arms to the departments of the Haute-Loire, the Haut-Vienne, the Haut-Rhin, &c.; concerning the slowness of the recruiting service, the want of provisions in the frontier places, and the neglect in providing arms; &c. On the 11th the minister at war read a long *memoire* on the actual state of his department, and he cleared up the doubtful points so much to the satisfaction of the assembly that his *memoire* was ordered to be printed.

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In the mean time the emigrants still continued to assemble in considerable bodies upon the frontiers, and the brothers of the king to issue hostile proclamations. It became necessary therefore to pursue more vigorous measures, and to take some immediate steps to repel the approaching danger. The first measure which the assembly thought proper to employ on this occasion respected the right of Monsieur to the regency, in case of the death of the king; and, after some deliberation, the assembly passed a decree nearly in the following terms :

“ The national assembly, considering that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, being the next in succession to the regency, is absent from the kingdom—In virtue of an article in the second section of the French constitution, decrees that the said Louis Stanislaus Xaver, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within the space of two months from the day in which the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in Paris.

“ In case the said L. S. Xaver, French prince, shall fail to return to the kingdom within the period above signified, he shall then be deemed to have forfeited his right to the regency, in virtue of the second article of the constitutional act. The assembly further decrees, that, conformably to the decree of the 30th of this month (October), a proclamation to this effect shall be printed, affixed, and published, within three days in the city of Paris, and that the executive power shall notify the same to the assembly within the three following days.”

On the day on which this decree was passed, the public mind was greatly relieved by the report of M. Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs.—It stated, at large, the reasons which induced him to hope for a continuance of the general tranquillity, and contained the answers of the several courts to the general notification from the king, of his acceptance of the new constitution. The replies from
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even the most hostile of the combined powers were in flattering terms; the emperor and the king of Prussia in particular gave the most lavish assurances of their amicable intentions; and the elector of Mentz alone had the honesty to avow his disapprobation of the state of affairs in France.

The minister then stated the measures taken by the king with respect to the countenance given to the emigrants by foreign powers. The Austrian Netherlands principally attracted attention; and, on application to the emperor, the most peremptory orders he said had been given, to prevent them from collecting in too great numbers in any one place, from appearing in military array, or being supplied with any of the implements of war.

Such were the professions of kings and courtiers, while some of them, at the very moment, were pursuing the most hostile measures, and actually studying to find excuses for commencing a war; while the league of Pilnitz existed in its full vigour; and while the disaffected Frenchmen were privately encouraged by the emperor, the king of Prussia, and their adherents, to assemble in formidable bodies on the frontiers, and to form the most fatal arrangements.

Notwithstanding this was the actual state of affairs, the crafty Leopold, impressed perhaps with some degree of apprehension, from the spirit and enthusiasm manifested by the French nation, or considering the plot as not yet matured for execution, still continued to temporize. Agreeably to the intimation of the minister, he issued a proclamation, forbidding the emigrants to assemble in warlike array in the Austrian Netherlands; to prohibit their appearing in military uniforms, their engaging recruits, and still more their encouraging deserters from the French troops. How far this proclamation was complied with, in the spirit as well as in the letter, the succeeding events sufficiently testified.

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While the emperor was thus clandestinely making preparations against the French nation, the northern powers were more open and decided in their measures. Prussia, Sweden, and Russia, entered into strict engagements for the restoration of the old despotism of France. Denmark was strongly solicited to enter into the alliance; but, with a degree of prudence which has always characterised the present administration of that country, the proposal was declined. The emperor did not openly and avowedly enter into this new confederacy; whether his inclinations, which seem always to have been pacific, really indisposed him to precipitate measures, or whether it suited that duplicity with which his character was so remarkably shaded, it is impossible at present to determine; but, by the convention of Stockholm, it was determined that he should be apparently forced into the war, by the emperors insisting on his fulfilling the terms of the alliance which existed between the imperial crowns.

Thus menaced on every side, and unable to conjecture from what quarter the first fatal blow was to proceed, some allowance may be made for these unhappy jealousies which the nation entertained, and for those severe measures towards the emigrants which they were about to adopt. Tremblingly alive on every topic that affected their newly recovered liberties, not knowing whom to suspect, or whom to consider as their friend, this unfortunate people naturally became the dupes of that faction which made the most lavish professions in favor of popular liberty, and directed their resentments, possibly without any good reason, against those whose interest they conceived to be most concerned in their oppression—the king and his ministers.

The constituent assembly had treated with unexampled lenity the hostile proceedings of the emigrants, but at this crisis measures more vigorous and more severe were perhaps required

required. On the 9th of November, therefore, a decree was passed, stating,—“ That the French who were assembled in a hostile manner beyond the frontiers; were suspected of a conspiracy against their country.—That, if after the 1st of January they should be found in that situation, they should be declared actually guilty of a conspiracy, and punishable with death.—That all the French princes and public functionaries, who should not return before the 1st of January, should be adjudged guilty of the same crime.—That the high national court should immediately after that period be called to pronounce judgment on such offenders.—That such as should be convicted during their absence, should forfeit their estates and property during their own lives, but not to the prejudice of their children.—That all such persons holding offices, &c. should be adjudged to have forfeited the same; and all such being officers in the army or navy should be considered as deserters.—All Frenchmen who enlisted men to attack the frontiers were to be adjudged guilty of high treason.—No arms or military stores were to be transported out of the kingdom.”

This decree was immediately followed by another, ordering the vacancies of the army to be filled up without further loss of time. Supplies were voted for putting the kingdom in a respectable posture of defence; and some regulations were adopted concerning the military schools, and the organization of the army.

The party disaffected to the new constitution were furnished with fresh matter for murmur and complaint by the refusal of the king to sanction the decree of the 9th of November against the emigrants. The moderate party exulted in this testimony of his constitutional freedom exhibited by the monarch, and considered it as a proof that he intended to govern strictly agreeably to the principles of the constitution. A king, they observed, who was not sincere in his attachment to the new order

of things, would have worn the mask of dissimulation through the whole of his conduct; such a one would not have hazarded an unpopular step, but would have ostensibly joined in the most violent measures, in the hope that they could not long endure, and that the machinations of the enemies of freedom would soon restore the ancient depravity and abuses.

While such were the sentiments of the more moderate and reasonable part of the nation, the republican faction eagerly embraced the opportunity to declaim against the new constitution, and against monarchical government. It was a constitution, they asserted, composed of inconsistent and incongruous principles, an hereditary monarch, and a democratic assembly. This very prerogative of a veto, which the constitution had conferred upon the king, would be the means, it was urged, of defeating every patriotic measure of the legislature, while the immense civil list enabled him either to bribe its members, or to cherish and assist the enemies of the nation assembled in foreign countries.

The exercise of the royal veto on this occasion was certainly an imprudent step, though there is no reason to attribute it to any perfidious motive, or to account for it on any other principle than that gentleness of disposition, that tenderness of character, by which this unfortunate monarch was so much distinguished. To deprive at one blow, and by his own agency, his nearest connexions of their hereditary rights, of their revenues, their subsistence, and to subject them to the penalties of death for their mistaken zeal, while they professed that all their efforts were directed to his service, doubtless appeared to him a harsh and ungrateful measure; while, judging probably of their dispositions by his own, he flattered himself with the hopes of persuading them to abandon their projects, and no longer contumaciously to oppose themselves to what appeared to him almost the unanimous sentiment of the
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the whole nation. In contemplating the history of this amiable and unfortunate prince, and the dreadful catastrophe which has since taken place, our sorrow is rather increased than diminished by the melancholy reflection, that he was less the victim of the cruelty of his enemies, than of the imprudence and folly of his professed friends. If, instead of deserting their country and their king, the misguided nobility of France had only for the time conformed a little to circumstances, contented themselves for the moment with that share of dignity and authority which they could have saved out of the general wreck of privileges, and rallied round the throne to support their king in the exercise of their constitutional rights—could they have conceded with grace, and defended themselves with candour and moderation—had they only assumed the appearance of acting more for the public, and less for themselves, France would never have been the victim of anarchy; the nobility would still have preserved, if not their titles, at least their fortunes and their consequence; and their innocent monarch would never have fallen a sacrifice to a relentless mob.

Above all things, it is ever impolitic to call in foreign aid to extinguish the internal troubles of a nation. It is rarely successful; the end is generally, that both parties are equally the prey of the invader. A high-spirited nation will seldom bear the insult; and the consequence has frequently been, that the contending parties, when languishing under the oppression of a foreign yoke, have forgotten their mutual animosities to unite against the common enemy, and to expel from the country that banditti which their dissensions had before introduced. Had the confederated powers been successful in their efforts against France, there is little doubt but the very persons who invited them to the contest, would have been among the first to complain of their tyranny and injustice; and, singular as the thought may appear, we shall

not be surpris'd to find, in the vicissitudes of war, some of the first emigrants who fled their country because they could not endure a limited monarchy, contending under the banners of the republic for the democracy of France.

Independent of the factions which distracted the councils and divided the sentiments of the nation, the internal state of France was far from prosperous at the close of the year 1791. The public treasury was exhausted, and the revenue was still inadequate to the expenditure. The assignats still circulated under a considerable discount. Poverty pervaded the country; and the neglect of agriculture threatened an impending famine. Distressing as was this state of affairs in the mother country, that of the colonies was still worse. The island of St. Domingo in particular was still convulsed by the dreadful contest, in which the impracticability of the white inhabitants in refusing the just demands of the people of colour had involved the island. The negro slaves, taking advantage of the anarchy which ensued from this unfortunate conflict, embraced eagerly the opportunity to emancipate themselves. In the northern district, not less than *one hundred thousand* revolted. More than two hundred plantations were entirely burnt; the masters were massacred; and if the women were spared, it was to endure a captivity worse than death. The ships that were anchored off the island afforded the only asylum to which the unhappy fugitives could resort, while fire and devastation every where marked the steps of the victorious rebels. Such was the representation of the colonial assembly; on the 30th of October the minister of marine announced to the national assembly, that two thousand three hundred troops of the line had been sent thither, and this embarkation was immediately followed by that of six hundred more; 10,370,910 livres were voted as a supply for these expeditions; and these public efforts were nobly seconded by the patriotic efforts

efforts were nobly seconded by the patriotic efforts of an individual. M. Mosneron of Nantz, on the 9d of November, made a spontaneous proposal to the national assembly to equip a vessel entirely new, and to transport, at his own expence, a body of 400 men to assist in restoring peace to the distracted colonies. The assembly, at the time they accepted the offer of M. Mosneron, passed a decree of thanks to the king of Great Britain, to the English nation, and to lord Effingham, the governor of Jamaica, for his generous conduct in relieving the planters of St. Domingo from the horrors of famine, and in furnishing them with arms and military stores against the rebel negroes.

Among the calamities which at that period afflicted France; perhaps not the least to be deplored were the dissensions which were likely to ensue from the influence of the ejected and non-juring clergy. The measures of the constituent assembly, respecting ecclesiastical affairs, have already been censured as being consistent with neither justice nor policy. It was not consistent with justice to alienate property from its legal destination; still less laudable was it to wrest from the hands of the possessors that revenue which had been legally committed to them, and to reduce to comparative indigence those who had long been in the habits of opulence and ease. The hardships and difficulties of the clergy were increased by the bigotted spirit of the court of Rome; the Pope had prohibited them under the most alarming anathemas from conforming to the injunctions of the assembly, and from taking the civic oath. One false step necessarily leads to another; injustice always produces injustice. The decree which enjoined the civic oath was followed by another, which expelled from their benefices all whose consciences could not submit to the terms prescribed by the legislature, all whose attachment to the see of Rome was still preserved inviolate, all who from virtue, as well as from

from less laudable motives, felt an aversion to the new order of things. Thus, at the period of which we are treating, there remained in the heart of France an immense body of disaffected persons, united among themselves, connected with a foreign hierarchy, which itself was irritated by recent injuries in the affair of Avignon; and to complete the distraction, this body was possessed of an influence over the minds of the people, which it was not easy to suppress. The non-juring clergy were possessed of all the popularity, of all the credit of the order. Their chapels were crowded, while those of the constitutional or conforming clergy were utterly deserted. We are not therefore to suppose that this influence would be entirely without its effects: we are not to suppose that such an accumulation of power in the hands of men would not be employed to the gratification of their resentments. In some places the disaffected priests openly declaimed against the constitution; in others secret conspiracies were formed, foreign correspondencies were established, and no means were left untried to enflame the minds of the populace. Every engine of superstition was employed, every art of eloquence essayed, to seduce them from their allegiance. Nocturnal meetings were held, and nocturnal processions were conducted by the factious priests. The shrines of the virgin and of the saints were dressed in mourning, as if to indicate the projected overthrow of all religion. The contest in fine arrived at length at such extremity, that actual combats took place between the fanatical adherents of the ejected priests and the national guard. The remote parts of the kingdom were nearly engaged in a religious war, and the sanguinary scenes of St. Bartholomew were on the point of being renewed.

No measure has drawn more odium on the legislative assembly, and none has excited more the indignation of other nations, than that severe decree which banished for ever from their native country, on pain of death, the
non-juring

non-juring clergy. Much as we deplore the harshness of the measure; much as we sympathize in the sufferings of that body; innocent and respectable as we believe a considerable portion of them to have been; still justice obliges us to confess, that this measure, harsh as it was, appeared only a necessary consequence of those which had preceded it. It was the rash and impolitic proceeding of the constituent assembly, in hastily confiscating the property of the church, that unfortunately planted the seeds of discord between the religion and the legislature of the country. The enlightened part of the community might see the error with regret, but they saw it only when it was too late to rectify it.

The first step of the legislative assembly against the refractory priests, was however less violent in appearance, though in reality it was fraught with severity. On the 18th of November a series of resolutions were passed, by which it was enacted, that the pensions of the ejected clergy, which had been allowed by the constituent assembly, should be withdrawn from all such as still refused the civic oath. That wherever any troubles were found to exist, of which religion was the cause or the pretext, the municipal officers should have liberty to remove from the neighbourhood such of the non-juring clergy as might be suspected of fomenting or favouring such seditions; that in case of disobedience to the directory of the department, they might be prosecuted before the tribunals, and imprisoned; and that those who should be convicted of actual sedition should be liable to two years imprisonment. To these decrees, after some delay, the king, from apparently the most conscientious motives, opposed his *veto*, and thus unfortunately increased the clamour which was insidiously excited against him in every part of the kingdom.

If the general tenor of the replies from foreign courts to the king's notice of having accepted the constitution be attentively

attentively considered, it will be impossible not to observe that remarkable strain of artifice and duplicity which pervaded the majority of them, and particularly those from the most powerful states, and those nearest in alliance with the reigning family. They contained, indeed, expressions of personal respect and sympathy for the king, but nothing which could be construed into an approbation of the new order which had been established in France by the prevalence of popular counsels. However therefore the court and ministry might appear satisfied with these empty professions, it is certain they were far from gratifying to the people at large. Instead of diminishing, the insolence of the emigrants appeared to increase. The enrolments in the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine were carried on with increased vigour and alacrity; they were even encouraged to commit acts of violence on the bordering territories of the bishopric of Strasburgh; and an attempt was also made by an agent of the princes to corrupt general Wimpfen, who commanded in the department of the Upper Rhine, and to engage him to deliver by treachery the fortress of New Brisac into their hands, by which the hostile troops might have obtained an easy entrance into the territories of France. Impelled by these circumstances the assembly decreed, on the 29th of November, that a deputation of twenty-four of its members should wait upon the king to communicate to him, on the part of the assembly, its solicitude concerning the dangers which menaced the country from the perfidious combinations of armed emigrants, assembled without the kingdom, and the fatal conspiracies which they apprehended internally threatened its domestic peace; to entreat him to require the elector of Treves, of Mayance, and the other princes of the empire, to issue a prohibition to those hostile preparations and enrolments which were openly carried on by the emigrants on the frontiers; and to request that he would embody a force sufficient to compel them, in case of a refusal.

On

On the 14th of December the king repaired in person to the national assembly; he acquainted them, that he had taken their message into deep consideration, and that on so important an occasion he had thought it his duty to be himself the bearer of the answer. He observed, that he had long been of opinion, that the circumstances of the nation required great circumspection. He assured them that he had done every thing to recall the emigrants to the bosom of their country, and to persuade them to submit to the new laws. He had employed both amicable intimations, and caused formal requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes and encourage them in their rash designs.

He observed, that the emperor had done all that could be done from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his states. His measures at other courts, he said, had not been equally successful, and unaccommodating answers had been given to his just requisitions. These unjust refusals, he observed, called for requisitions of another kind. As the representative of the people, he felt for their injuries.—In consequence, he had caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if before the 15th of January he did not put a stop within his states to all hostile dispositions on the part of the emigrants, he should be obliged to consider him as the enemy of France. The king added, that he should order similar declarations to all who favoured assemblages which might menace the peace of the kingdom.

To enable the nation, however, to prepare for that war in which they might find it necessary, after all these precautions, reluctantly to engage, the king advised an attention to the finances of the country, and the strict observance of peace and unanimity.—He modestly alluded to the violence of those who endeavoured to surround with disgusts the exercise of that authority which was entrusted to

to him—pledged himself faithfully to preserve the deposit of the constitution, and to shew to all mankind that he felt how truly glorious it was to be the king of a free people.

In the former part of this discourse, where the king speaks of having employed amicable intimations, and exerted his personal influence with foreign powers, he might allude to a circumstance which has only been publicly known since his death: So early as the month of March 1791, the emperor Leopold had formed at Mantua a secret plan, consisting of twenty-one articles, the object of which was to re-establish the king in all his former authority: for this purpose the emperor was to enter France, in the month of July, at the head of all his troops, while the frontiers were left totally defenceless. The king prevented by his interposition this plan, and probably might induce the emperor to assume at least that mask of moderation and friendship which for some time he affected to wear.

But however sincere the king might be in his declarations, he was not fortunate enough to silence the voice of faction. The republican party in particular did not fail to take every advantage which the fears and suspicions of the people afforded to excite their detestation of the court, and of the little remains of the aristocratic faction which existed in the kingdom. The negative which the king had unfortunately affixed to the decree against the emigrants, and his tardiness in sanctioning that respecting the non-juring clergy, afforded the disaffected and designing too easy a pretext to work on the passions of the multitude. Addresses crowded in from every part of the kingdom, abounding in commendations of the national assembly, and indicating their dissatisfaction to the conduct of the king and his ministers. Most of these addresses were entered on the journals of the assembly, and were seconded by inflammatory speeches from the
more

more violent members. M. Møntmorin, unable to withstand the storm of popular violence, resigned; M. Delessart was nominated to the department of foreign affairs, and M. Cahier de Gerville to that of the interior. In the beginning of December, also, M. du Portail was dismissed from his office as minister of war, and M. Narbonne appointed in his room. The hasty dismissal and impeachment of ministers in consequence of inflammatory harangues from popular orators, and without any hearing or investigation, may be accounted among the principal causes of the calamities of France. The rapid succession of ministers allowed them no time to remedy abuses, or to make the necessary arrangements for the defence of the kingdom; the fear of impeachment rendered them cautious and timid, and directed their attention rather to the arts of acquiring popularity, than to the performance of their duty; rather to intriguing with the despicable journalists, who governed the mob of Paris, than to the actual service of their king and country.

Before the conclusion of the month of November, a circumstance occurred which served to put in motion the two parties which were shortly to divide the kingdom, the constitutionalists and the republicans; and the event might have shewn in whose favour the balance was likely to preponderate. The mayoralty of the judicious and patriotic M. Bailly terminated in the month of November—The once popular La Fayette appeared as a candidate to succeed him, and it was generally understood that he was supported by the court—He was however opposed by a violent Jacobin and declared republican, M. Petion. It is almost unnecessary to state the issue of the contest, and to add that M. Petion was elected mayor of Paris by a great majority.

As melancholy experience had evinced the increasing credit and power of the Jacobins; as it was evident that, by gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the
populace

populace, that pernicious society was enabled to controul even the assembly itself; as the only means of averting the dreadful consequences with which the nation was threatened by the disorganizing principles avowed by the leaders of the club, the friends of the constitution and of the monarch endeavoured to counteract its influence, by a new institution of a similar kind, but professing principles more moderate, and consequently more calculated to preserve the tranquillity and happiness of the nation. As the new society assembled in the vacant convent of the Feuillans, it received its name, as well as the Jacobin club, from the place of its meeting. It was composed of the most active and most respectable members of the constituent assembly, among whom were M. M. d'Andre, Barnave, the Lameths, Du Port, Rabaud, Sieyes, Chapelier, Thouret, Labord, Taleyrand, Montesquieu, Beaumetz, &c. to these may be added two hundred and sixty-six members of the existing assembly, and about eight hundred and eighty other respectable citizens.

The republican party and the Jacobins could not behold this new association without secret disquiet. It was evidently formed to disconcert their conspiracies, and to open the eyes of the public to their true interest. As they despaired of vanquishing it by the force of reason and truth, they determined to employ that blind and desperate instrument, the sole guidance of which they had long been labouring to acquire. The first alarm was on the 21st of December, when a large body of ruffians armed with clubs forced themselves into the hall of the Feuillans; they commenced with direct threats to several of the members, with interrupting all discussion, and at length openly acknowledged that they were sent thither to effect the dissolution of the society.

A riot of a still more serious nature was threatened on the 23d, and M. Charon the president wrote to the
 mayor

mayor to request that a commissaire de police might be ordered to attend the meeting, for the purpose of preserving the peace; but M. Petion, who was indebted for his own elevation to the Jacobin club, could not be suspected to be extremely ardent in favour of its rival. He excused himself, by saying that he could not command the attendance of a commissaire, but that he would take every precaution in his power. At the instance of the commander of the national guard, however, M. Petion wrote to the commissaire de police, and requested his attendance. As the members of the society came armed as well as the rioters, a tumult of a very sanguinary nature was expected; but happily, by the interposition of the municipal officer, a massacre was prevented. The rioters imperiously insisted on the dissolution of the club, and this by the other party was contemptuously refused. On the exhortation of the peace officer, however, to separate and depart from the scene of altercation, the society offered the first example of moderation, by quitting the hall, and leaving their property to the discretion of their opponents.

The majority of the assembly had, from these circumstances, an immediate opportunity of manifesting its disposition towards the new constitution. The vicinity of their place of meeting to that of the legislative body, and the various committees, afforded M. Merlin (who had been imprudently attacked by one of the guards) and others of the Jacobin faction, a ready excuse for insisting on their removal; and a motion being made to that effect, it was unanimously decreed. Thus was victory at once declared in favour of the Jacobins, and success by such unworthy means only served to encourage them to more atrocious proceedings. The constitutional party indeed were too late in their adoption of active measures. Their more diligent adversaries had already obtained possession of the public mind, and they entered the field only when the contest was virtually decided.

These

These transactions afforded a tolerably accurate picture of the state of parties in France, at the conclusion of the year 1791. Its situation, with respect to foreign powers, became every day more and more critical. The conduct of Leopold was a singular tissue of inconsistency and deception. He pretended formally to revoke the circular of Pavia, in consequence of the king's acceptance of the constitution, and yet exhorted the powers of Europe not to desist from the measures concerted between them, but to continue vigilant, and to declare their coalition had still an existence. This declaration was followed by a letter to the king of France, reviving the claims of the imperial vassals in Alsace and Lorraine; insisting that no compensation should be accepted, but that matters should be restored in every respect to their ancient situation; and acquainting the king that the emperor conceived himself not only bound to interpose by solemn protestation, "but also to give to the injured *all the aid* which the dignity of the imperial court, and the maintenance of the present constitution required."

While such were the pretences of Leopold, it appeared that the German princes, in general, were more than satisfied with the mode of compensation proposed by the French. The prince of Lowestein readily accepted of an indemnification, and the prince of Hohenloe, and the prince of Salm-Salm, declared themselves equally ready to treat upon the same terms. The dukes of Wirtemberg, and Deux Ponts, as well as prince Maximilian, freely negotiated, and only required, what in itself was no more than perfectly reasonable, the reimbursement on their revenues on the feudal rights in question, from the 4th of August, 1789.

The designs of Leopold gradually unfolded. The declaration to the European powers, the substance of which is given in a preceding paragraph, was dated 10th November, the letter to the king the 3d of December; and

and on the 21st of the same month an official notice was delivered to the French minister at Vienna, in answer to the French king's notification to the elector of Treves, which more directly manifested the hostile intentions of the imperial court. It stated, that the elector had given notice to the court of Vienna, that he had adopted, with respect to the French refugees and emigrants, the same principles and regulations as had been put in force in the Austrian Low Countries; that notwithstanding this, the elector was still apprehensive that the tranquillity of his frontiers and states would be disturbed by France; and that in consequence of this notification, the emperor had been constrained to order marshal Bender to march to the states of his electoral highness speedy and effectual succours, in case he should be attacked with hostile incursions, or even if imminently menaced with such.

As it was a well-known fact that the French emigrants were assembled in immense force, and with every hostile preparation, in the electorate; as such an arrangement could not be with amicable intentions towards their country; and as the emperor, by this official notice, declared his intentions of protecting the elector in these proceedings, his views with respect to France could be no longer mistaken. In the letter which the French king transmitted to the assembly, inclosing the notice of the court of Vienna, he expressed his astonishment not less than his regret. He conceived that he had a right to reckon on the good intentions of the emperor; and added, that he could not believe that his dispositions were changed, but wished to persuade himself that the court of Vienna had been deceived respecting the state of facts, and had been made to suppose that the elector of Treves had fulfilled in reality all the duties of justice and good neighbourhood. In the answer which the king returned to the emperor, he said, he had reminded that monarch that nothing was demanded

of him, but what France had afforded an example of, and that the French nation had taken immediate care to prevent the hostile assembling of the refugees from Brabant, when they attempted it in the neighbourhood of the Austrian Netherlands; at the same time he confirmed his former declaration, that if, after the period already fixed, the elector of Treves should not have really and effectually dispersed the hostile assemblages which existed in his states, nothing would prevent the king from proposing to the nation to employ the force of arms to constrain it.

As the intentions of Leopold therefore could be no longer doubted, the preparations for war were renewed with redoubled vigour. By an act of the legislature, the king had previously been requested to confer on M. M. Rochambeau and Luckner the dignity of marshals of France, and M. la Fayette had proceeded to assume an important command on the confines of Germany. The war minister, M. Narbonne, made the circuit of the frontiers, to inspect personally the state of the army there. New levies were immediately ordered, and the whole country assumed the garb of war.

Though the spirit of the nation was not depressed by the prospect of impending hostilities, still, if the state of the finances be considered, war could not be contemplated without the most serious apprehensions. The extraordinary resources had all proved hitherto inadequate to the liquidation of the public debt. On the 29th of December, twenty millions of livres were voted by the assembly, which the minister at war informed them, on the succeeding day, must be all appropriated to the deficit of 1791, and not to the expences of 1792.

M. Lafond on the same day presented a general estimate, from the particular estimates of the several ministers, of the expences of 1792 :

Appenage

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

275

			Livres.
Appanage of the princes	—	—	5,000,000
Army	—	—	221,000
Foreign affairs	—	—	6,000,000
Marine and colonies	—	—	43,000,000
General administration	—	—	5,000,000
Public worship	—	—	81,000,000
Pensions to ecclesiastics	—	—	68,000,000
National assembly	—	—	5,000,000
Civil list	—	—	25,000,000
Bridges and roads	—	—	4,000,000
High national court and court of appeal			450,000
Schools and academies	—	—	1,000,000
Interest of public debt	—	—	20,000,000
Life annuities	—	—	100,000,000
Perpetual annuities	—	—	300,000,000
Total —			663,671,000

He then presented an estimate of the ordinary ways and means; consisting of land-tax, tax on personal property, patents, stamps, &c. taken at 530,000,000. The remaining sum of 133,671,000 was to be provided for from the fund of extraordinaries.

Notwithstanding previous appearances, the year 1792 opened with fair but delusive omens to the peace of Europe and the liberties of France. Leopold again wavered or prevaricated. Unprepared for the attack, or confident that his deep and sinister policy would be successful in amusing the assembly, his language to the French ministers at Vienna or Brussels was contradictory to his former public declarations; indeed contrary to his actual conduct, it was pacific and conciliatory: thus, while a cordon of troops was gradually forming on the frontier of the Netherlands, the solemn protestations of the emperor asserted them to be intended merely for the purpose of precaution

and defence. M. de Sainte Croix, who had been dispatched as an envoy extraordinary to the elector of Treves, was received by that prince with the most perfect cordiality and respect. The emigrants were prohibited from continuing their military exercises, and the elector pledged himself by the strongest assurances to the French minister, that within eight days the hostile assemblages in his dominions should be entirely dispersed. All military stores and even horses for the emigrants were prohibited; and he declared, that in every respect it was his most ardent wish to maintain perpetual peace and amity with France.

The people, more sincere than their sovereigns, willingly seconded this disposition. In many towns the emigrants were ignominiously expelled by the populace; and the prince of Condé was compelled by the magistrates of Worms to leave that city for fear of insurrection. While their enemies thus appeared to be crushed or removed, the apprehensions of the French for their own frontier were completely dispelled by the report of the war minister on his return from his tour. The fortresses were represented as being in a most respectable state, and the patriotism of the soldiery exceeded every expectation that the most sanguine friend of his country could form. The credit of the paper currency experienced an immediate rise from these favourable appearances; and manufactures and agriculture began once more to flourish. The accounts from the colonies were less encouraging. The dreadful revolt of the negroes at cape Francois had indeed produced a temporary cessation of the dissensions which existed between the white inhabitants of St. Domingo and the people of colour; and an actual concordat, or agreement, had been entered into by the two parties. The successes of the free inhabitants thus united against the revolted negroes were brilliant; but every new instance of success but added to the calamity of individuals, as it was a destruction of property. It affords matter for astonishment, that

that the most severe calamities are frequently insufficient to destroy the force of prejudice. That rancorous spirit which prevailed in the white colonists, that contempt in which they continued to hold the people of colour, was repressed, but not extinguished, by the concordat. While the ratification of this contract was still in agitation, a private quarrel served once more to rekindle the flames of civil war. On the 16th of November the sections of Port au Prince were assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the execution of the concordat, and the forming of a new provincial assembly, to which the people of colour should have equal admission with the white inhabitants. At the very moment in which this important question was in agitation, a free negro quarrelled with a white cannonier. The soldier drew his sword; but the superior force of the negro wrested it from him, and broke it in pieces. For the offence the negro was apprehended; he was immediately tried, condemned, and hanged, in opposition to the most urgent and humble entreaties of the people of colour, who only requested that the execution of the sentence might at least be suspended.

The consequence of this hasty and imprudent act was, that the people of colour fired on the cannoniers; the white colonists flew instantly to arms, and the contest was renewed with all its former fury. The succeeding day the town of Port au Prince was set on fire by some unknown incendiaries, and twenty-eight islots, making two-fifths of the whole, were totally consumed. The subsequent history of this distracted colony is nothing but a repetition of crimes and disasters. The island, divided into three parties, has continued a prey to its intestine divisions. The revolted negroes have still maintained their ground. The people of colour have either remained undecided and inactive, or have taken the part of the insurgents. Even the troops which were sent over to restore tranquillity, have in some measure been corrupted, while the white

inhabitants have displayed unequivocal marks of counter-revolutionary principles.

As but little hope appeared of the emigrants returning to their country, and as the veto of the king had caused much discontent in the nation, the assembly proceeded to stronger measures, and a decree of accusation of high treason was passed against the brothers of the king, the prince of Condé, M. Calonne, and Mirabeau the younger; and as, notwithstanding the professions of the emperor, reports had gone forth that a congress was to be formed by Austria and Prussia for the purpose of subverting, or modifying at least, the French constitution, a decree was passed by the legislature, and immediately sanctioned by the king, which pronounced every Frenchman infamous, and guilty of high treason, who should directly or indirectly take any part in such measures, or who should, in any respect, unite with those whose object was a modification of the existing constitution.

The principal misfortune, however, that afflicted France at this juncture, was the parties which existed within its bosom, and which precipitated rapidly one after another the ministers from their stations. M. Delessart, was accused, and M. Bertrand declared by a vote of the assembly unworthy of being employed. While the republican party were thus obtaining a gradual ascendancy in the assembly, and taking advantage of every circumstance that could increase their power, the more desperate among them were insidiously employed in dispersing rumours among the people, atrociously slanderous of the king and the existing government. Pikes were openly manufactured in different parts of the city, and avowedly distributed among the populace, under the specious pretext of arming them against the enemies of liberty. On the 17th of February, therefore, the king thought it necessary expressly to deny, in a spirited letter to the mayor and municipality, all the charges which were circulated against
him,

him, relative to his supposed disaffection to the constitution; the municipality also, nearly about the same period, passed a resolution prohibiting the citizens from keeping stores of concealed arms in their houses.

In one instance, however, it must be confessed that the Jacobin and republican party evinced superior sagacity, and shewed that they were possessed of either better information, or more honesty, than their opponents. They penetrated more successfully the designs of Leopold, and saw that the false serenity which prevailed at the commencement of the year only preceded a storm; and that it was a mere delusion created by that crafty prince to lull the spirit of France into a fatal tranquillity. Not uninformed probably of the actual grounds of the treaty of Pilnitz, they saw that an alliance of such extent was not likely to vanish in vapour; the reasons still existed in which it originated; with this opinion the preparations of Austria and Prussia entirely corresponded; and while no motive of sufficient weight had occurred to induce the combination to lay aside their project, there was an obvious reason for the concealment of it, and that was, that it was evidently not yet ripe for execution. At their instance, therefore, the military preparations were carried on with vigour; at their instance a decisive answer was demanded from Leopold, and a period was fixed, after which his silence was to be construed into a declaration of war. The court itself indeed was not without its alarms; for marshals Luckner and Rochambeau, and M. la Fayette, were ordered to Paris, towards the latter end of February, to concert with the executive power concerning the proper arrangements for the defence of the country; a considerable promotion of officers was made, and even a marine equipment was ordered, in expectation that some naval power might be induced to join the confederacy. What was scarcely conjecture in the preceding month, was converted almost into certainty on the 2d of

March, when the minister for foreign affairs laid before the assembly the late correspondence with the emperor. Besides the papers which we have already noticed, it included a note from prince Kaunitz, dated January 5th, 1792, stating, that though the elector of Treves had seriously resolved to enforce the regulations adopted by the emperor against the emigrants, still the French king had assembled three armies, and that violent declamations had been permitted in the French clubs against all the sovereigns of Europe.

The reading of this paper was followed by an extract from the instructions of the minister to M. Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna, dated January 21st, in which an explanation was required of the orders given to general Bender, and of the meaning of the expression employed by the emperor—"The sovereigns united for the safety and honour of crowns."

The most important paper, however, was a dispatch from prince Kaunitz to the imperial chargé des affaires at Paris, and dated February 17th. It was penned with studied ambiguity—The emperor made many protestations of his desire to preserve peace but still avowed engagements which he had formed with other powers for preserving inviolate the monarchy of France. While he professed his apprehensions for the safety of the king, the dispatch was charged with such expressions as appeared studiously calculated to irritate the people, and precipitate his ruin. It inveighed, in the most unqualified terms, against the republican spirit, and the Jacobin societies; and instead of soothing or conciliating the passions of the multitude, it appeared only calculated to urge them to some act of desperation.

These papers were accompanied by a letter from the Prussian envoy at Paris, avowing the intimate union and connexion which subsisted between the two courts, and the entire acquiescence of his master in the Austrian memorials.

monials. By another communication from the minister, it was understood, that the imperial troops in the Netherlands amounted to fifty-five thousand, in January, and that as soon as they should be joined by the several bodies which were ordered to march, they would amount to upwards of ninety thousand. The minister concluded by saying, that the king had instructed his ambassador at Vienna to represent, that it became neither the dignity nor the independence of France to enter into any discussion concerning her internal affairs; that the measures of Austria and Prussia, having no explicit object, could only serve to create jealousy, and distrust; and that, if the emperor was sincere in his professions, he would shew it by reducing his troops in the Netherlands to the peace establishment in 1791, which would be immediately followed by a similar proceeding on the part of the French.

The fallacious calm which had pervaded the nation and the assembly, was, on the publication of these dispatches, changed into a tempest of rage and resentment. The minister, Delessart, was charged with having deceived the nation; the various communications from foreign powers were treated as little better than forgeries, and the minister for foreign affairs was considered as being a party in the fraud; to many it appeared, that war itself was a less formidable evil than the enormous expences, in which a continued state of alarm involved the nation; and some even went so far as to regard the menaces of the confederacy as empty threats; and as concerted solely to increase the distresses of the nation, by deranging its finances.

While the indignation of the popular party in the assembly was directed against M. Bertrand, the minister of the marine, and M. Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, the court, under the influence, as was confidently suspected, of the house of Austria, determined on the
dismission

dismissal of M. Narbonne from the war department ; and of M. Bahier de Gerville from that of the interior. M. de Grave was appointed as successor to M. Narbonne, whose dismissal was both resented and resisted by the leading members of the assembly. M. Sage moved, " That M. Narbonne carried with him the regret of the national assembly ;" and on a motion of censure, by M. Cambon, on the ministers who advised the king to retain M. Bertrand in his service, after he had lost the public confidence, M. Cahier de Gerville was expressly excepted. Nothing indeed could be more impolitic in the court than both these measures. It was as absurd as it was useless to endeavour to support the minister of marine, however innocent, against the voice and feelings of a majority of the legislature ; and considering that the temper of the assembly rather led them in general to derange the ministry, than to vote for their continuance in office, the king ought to have rejoiced that any of his servants enjoyed a portion of their confidence, and ought certainly not to have set them the example himself of dissolving the administration.

These measures were followed, in the same sitting, by the impeachment of M. Delessart. He was accused by M. Brissot of omitting to give information to the assembly of the concert formed among foreign powers against the liberty and independence of France ; of not pressing the measures proper for the safety and defence of the nation ; of having given to prince Kaunitz details on the situation of the kingdom, calculated to convey an improper idea ; of having meanly sued for peace ; and of having refused to obey the decrees of the national assembly. In consequence of a decree passed against him, M. Delessart was apprehended, and conducted to Orleans to be tried by the high national court. There is every reason to believe that this unfortunate

fortunate minister was substantially innocent ; but the tide of faction, from a variety of unfavourable circumstances, ran hard against him. He may indeed be considered as having fallen a sacrifice to the indignation which the crooked and deceitful conduct of Leopold excited ; to the temporizing politics of the mild and undecided Louis ; and to that finessè which has so long attached to the French character, that perhaps even republican sentiments will not easily eradicate it. These circumstances prevented him from acting with that decisive openness, and boldness of character, which the rectitude of his conduct might have inspired. He was the first victim to that desperate faction which has since deluged France with blood ; and the assembly, by passing a decree of accusation against a citizen, without first hearing him in his own defence, have fixed an indelible blot upon their records, and afforded a fatal specimen of that prompt and hasty punishment which has since exhibited the juridical proceedings of that nation as an object of detestation and contempt to the world.

The impeachment of M. Delessart so completely terrified the marine minister, M. Bertrand, that he lost no time in requesting leave to give in his resignation. Thus the ministry was at once completely dissolved ; and yet, unpermanent and difficult as the situation was, the contest to supply the vacant offices served still farther to divide the distracted empire.

While France was thus agitated by internal faction, and the apprehension of a foreign attack, the politics of Europe once more appeared to vibrate in favour of peace, by the sudden death of the emperor of Germany. This event happened on the first of March ; and from the suddenness of the attack, and the nature of the complaint, violent suspicions were at first entertained that he owed his death to poison. The complaint entirely affected the stomach and the intestines, his body swelled to an enormous

mous degree, and his bowels literally burst. The accusation of poison was naturally directed against the French party; but the whole suspicion was soon removed by the narrative of his disease, which was published by authority, and which ascribed the fatal event to a rheumatic fever.—By those, however, who pretended to have better means of information, it was asserted, that the use of certain stimulant medicines, which this prince was in the habit of employing, produced this dreadful effect, and terminated a life of such apparent importance to the politics of Europe.

As a man, Leopold was generally considered as a debauched and sensual character; as a prince, he was certainly possessed of ability; and though his principles were despotic, it must be confessed, that in general he made use of his power for the good of his subjects. His political career, while grand duke of Tuscany, was marked by wisdom and moderation. He simplified the laws, he remitted the most grievous of the public burdens, and his regard to the administration of justice was such, that he allowed, and even encouraged, appeals to himself, wherever any party conceived himself injured in the course of a process in the ordinary courts of law. He had the merit of restoring peace to the empire, as well as to Austria and the Netherlands, notwithstanding the distress and confusion in which he found them all involved, by the imprudent administration of his predecessor. His political wisdom and general sagacity were certainly far above the ordinary standard of hereditary monarchs. The soundness of his judgment, and his regard to his people, were strongly evinced by one trait—he loved peace. How far his conduct in uniting with the confederacy of princes against the liberties of France, may be fairly cited in contradiction to this assertion, we are scarcely qualified to decide, unless we are better informed as to the motives and the extent of that confederacy. Leopold might be
influenced

influenced by family considerations; he might be deceived with false representations as to the actual state of France; he might be prompted by the intrigues of another power, whose insidious policy Europe will long have occasion to regret: or, after all, he might not be serious in his intentions of commencing offensive measures, and might flatter himself that the dread of a powerful combination might enable him to obtain better terms for the royal family than the constitution of 1789 afforded. With all his public virtues, we are under a necessity of recording one indelible blemish on his character—His notorious duplicity rendered him at once an object of universal abhorrence and contempt; and it was even asserted, by an eminent speaker in the British senate, intimately connected with administration, that “no man would take his word for a single day.”

The ascendancy which the Jacobin club had obtained by their victory over the Feuillans, and still more by the impeachment of M. Delessart, rendered their authority absolute in every thing that concerned the politics of France. The court seemed at this moment to relinquish every thought of resistance, and to sail with the tide. This was soon evinced in the appointment of ministers: M. Dumourier and M. Lacoſte, two of the leading Jacobins, being nominated to the vacant departments of foreign affairs and the marine. As the name of the former will frequently occur in the course of our narrative, we embrace the opportunity of his first appearance in a public capacity, to give some account of this extraordinary character.

M. Dumourier was born about the year 1739, and is, we have been informed, of a noble but not an opulent family. His father was a *commiffaire de guerre*, and was a man of education and considerable talents, as is evident from a translation of the *Secchia rapita* of Taffoni, and some other poems, which have preserved his name in the annals of literature. As it was almost a
point

point of necessity, that every gentleman in France, under the old government, should be at one time or other of his life a soldier, young Dumourier commenced his military career at a very early period, and was wounded and made prisoner at Closter camp. By nature enterprising and active, the next opportunity that offered for the display of his distinguished talents was in the year 1770, when the first infamous partition of Poland was planned and executed by a banditti of despots: on this occasion M. Dumourier appeared on the side of liberty, at the head of a battalion of French volunteers, and is said to have performed some desperate and able services to the republic. The event of that unpropitious contest is too well known, and too deeply lamented by every friend of justice and of freedom. M. Dumourier had, however, so far succeeded for his personal views, that he was immediately noticed by Louis XV. and was sent into Sweden in 1772, with M. Favier, and two others, confidentially by the king, and unknown to the ministry, when the great revolution was to be effected in that kingdom; the plan of which was laid in the cabinet of Versailles. Dumourier contrived to convey private intelligence to the king, that the object was effected, before the ministers had received any dispatch from their agents. His promptitude and ability, however, only served to awaken the jealousy of the courtiers, and on his return, in reward for his services, he was committed to the Bastille. His continuance there, we have reason to think, was however not long.

In the late war, M. Dumourier was lieutenant governor of Cherburgh, and is said to have offered a plan to the minister, M. Vergennes, by which he undertook, with a handful of men, to surprise the island of Jersey and the other British possessions in that quarter; but, for what reason we know not, the proposal was rejected.

From the first dawn of the revolution, M. Dumourier studied to ingratiate himself with the people; and, to render

render himself more acceptable to them, is said to have disclaimed the nobility of his ancestry. As the Jacobin club was the great theatre for talents and ambition, he soon became an active and distinguished member, and by their influence established himself in the important, and at this period, very responsible situation of minister for foreign affairs.

The French king as a further testimony of his attention to the will of the people, dismissed the Swiss guards on the 17th of March; and on that day the guard appointed by the constitution entered upon duty.

The death of the emperor, instead of protracting, appears to have accelerated hostilities between Austria and France. The young king of Hungary, Francis I. was scarcely seated upon the throne, when he desired a conference with the Prussian minister Bischoffwerder, and directed him to inform his master, that he was determined strictly and literally to adhere to the convention of Pilnitz. The preparations on the part of the French, in the mean time, proceeded with alacrity; and the new minister M. Dumourier, declared in the Jacobin club, that he would in his negotiations with Austria, direct them to the point of obtaining, without delay, a solid peace or a decisive war.

On the 22d of March a decree of sequestration was passed against the property of the emigrants, saving however the right of creditors to be reimbursed their demands; and such as returned within the space of one month were to be re-established in the possession of their estates, subjected, however, to a proportionate tax to pay the expences of the armament, which their emigration had occasioned. By an additional decree, they were deprived of the rights of active citizens for two years after their return to France; and such of them as should not return within one month, were deprived of those privileges for ten years.

The succeeding day the king announced the appointment of three more of the popular party to the ministry,

viz.

viz. M. Garnier, minister of justice, in the room of M. Duport du Tertre; M. Rolland, minister of the interior, instead of M. Cahier de Gerville; and M. Claviere, minister of finance, in the room of M. Tarbe. The new ministers were all members of the Jacobin club, which at this period seems to have possessed the entire confidence of the nation. The vigorous measures pursued by the assembly had also the happiest effects both upon public credit and upon the minds of the emigrants, upwards of four hundred having passed through Lille on their return in one day.

C H A P. VII.

Dispatches from Vienna—from Sardinia—Abolition of ecclesiastical distinctions—Rejection of some newly discovered islands—Insolent answer from Vienna—Declaration of war—Unfortunate expedition against Tournay and Mons—Murder of M. T. Dillon—Attack of Furnes—Resignation of M. Rochambeau, and appointment of M. Luckner to the command of the northern army—Austrians attack Bavay—Progress and successes of M. de la Fayette's army—Death of M. Gourvion—Decrees passed in the assembly—Machinations of the republican party—New decree against refractory Priests—negatived by the king—Decree for a camp near Paris—The king again interposes his veto—Dismission of the Jacobin ministry—Disturbed state of Paris—Letter of M. la Fayette—Resignation of the ministry—Outrages of the 20th of June—M. la Fayette repairs to Paris—Successes of the French in the Netherlands—Their retreat—Union of parties—Arrival of the federates—Confederation—Change of ministers—Country proclaimed in danger—New levies—Outrages of the Marseillois—False accusation against M. la Fayette—Decision of the Assembly in his favour—Resignation of the directory of the departments—Proclamations of the combined Courts and the Duke of Brunswick—Petition for deposing the king.

THE dispatches which were received, in answer to the requisition made by M. Delessart to the court of
Vienna,

Vienna, and which were submitted to the assembly on the 29th of March by the new minister, M. Dumourier, amounted almost to a declaration of war. Prince Kauntiz, in a memorial dated 18th of March, in the name of his master, the king of Hungary, began with stating, that the king had fully adopted the system of the late emperor, and would explain himself with that frankness which became a great power. He recriminated on the French the charge of assembling troops upon the frontiers; and added, that the king of Hungary and the princes of Germany might perhaps think it necessary to assemble still greater numbers to maintain their internal peace against the example of France, and the criminal machinations of the Jacobins. The rest of the paper was in a similar style of haughtiness and outrage, and concluded with observing that the sound and principal part of the nation, in other words, the aristocratic faction, would consider as a consoling prospect the existence of a *concert*, the views of which were worthy of their confidence. Notwithstanding the indignation which so insolent an address must necessarily have produced, M. Dumourier, with great temper and magnanimity, entreated the assembly to wait with tranquillity for the categorical answer of the court of Vienna, which he expected in the course of a few days; and this recommendation of the minister was unanimously assented to.

The vigorous and spirited conduct of M. Dumourier extracted from the king of Sardinia a more moderate and favourable reply. He assured the minister in general terms, that his troops were actually below the peace establishment, and that he permitted no hostile assemblages of the emigrants within his dominions.

We have already expatiated on the general character of the second national assembly, and we shall soon have too many instances to record in confirmation of its imbecility. An attention to trifles has marked too many of its delibe-

rations, and such an attention is the surest mark of incapacity. Of the absurdity of admitting the populace to the galleries of the assembly, permitting them to applaud the speakers, and in a manner to take part in the deliberations, it would be unjust to accuse this body, since it was among the errors of the constituent assembly; but certainly no one circumstance has contributed more to the misfortunes of France. It was easy for any active and unprincipled faction to assemble a mob, and to fill the galleries, when any measure was either to be carried or resisted. But this was not the whole extent of the evil; the vanity incident to human nature in general, and which has been considered as the characteristic of Frenchmen, converted the legislatures of a great nation into mere actors; their debates consisted more of popular declamation than of wise and temperate enquiry, and their speeches were addressed to the ears of the galleries rather than to the understandings of the deputies; connected with this destructive mode of proceeding has been the practice of voting decrees and resolutions by acclamation; a practice which utterly excluded all the influence of reason, and which was more adapted to the pastimes of children than the deliberations of philosophers or legislatures.

A singular instance in confirmation of these reflections occurred on the 6th of April, when the committee of public instruction having moved the suppression of the monastic orders, one of the popular ecclesiastics, to entrap the applause of the galleries, moved an additional decree to abolish all distinction of dress both ecclesiastical and monkish. A most indecent scene followed this motion—bishop Fauchett pulled off his *calotte*, and another bishop deposited his cross of gold upon the table as a patriotic gift.—Many irreligious allusions were indulged in, and it was *solemnly* decreed by the legislature of a *great* nation, that all ecclesiastical marks of distinction,

except

except in the actual celebration of divine worship, should be abolished.

The assembly on the 19th afforded an example of more liberal and enlightened policy. In the evening sitting, a letter was read from Messrs. Baur, merchants of Marseilles, which announced that M. Marchand, commander of the *Solide*, had discovered four new islands in the Indian seas, of which he had taken possession in the name of the French nation, and of Louis XVI. The islands were full of people, and abounded in animal and vegetable productions. The speech of M. Luefnay, on this occasion, is worthy of being recorded.

“It is a great problem,” said he, “whether the discovery of America has been useful to Europe; but certainly America has greatly suffered by the discovery. The islands discovered by M. Marchand are peopled—if there was but one man there, he is master of the isle which he inhabits. With what right can a people, who renounces all conquest, take possession of an island which does not belong them by any possible title? Gentlemen, the moment to prove our attachment to the principles of our constitution is come. Let others, if they please, carry to these savage islands, as they have been hitherto denominated, the arts, the riches, and the vices of Europe! Let us remain faithful to our declaration of the rights of men, and let us take care not to make an attack on the natural liberty, which we have recognized, and which we have been the first to proclaim.”

This opinion was crowned by general plaudits, several times reiterated, and the assembly closed the discussion.

The period now approached when the interested and barbarous politics of a combination of despots was to deluge Europe with blood, to bring on a great and populous nation the most dreadful outrages, and to involve in the general ruin a benevolent and pious prince, whose only crime, if he was really guilty of any, was being the dupe of their criminal intrigues.

What the caution of Leopold would at least have deferred, was precipitated by the violence and ardour of a young king. Yet even he (if we may credit the representation of M. Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna) was urged to a premature declaration of his intentions by the court of Berlin. What the objects of that court could be is not easy to conceive.—Its dominions did not border upon France, nor was the *military* government of Prussia likely to be deranged by the extension of democratic principles. Two objects only present themselves to our consideration, and on one of them conjecture must rest. It must have had in contemplation either the acquisition of territory from the dismemberment of France, or the still more insidious design of contributing further to the humiliation of Austria, by the probability of its losing again in the contest, should they not prove victorious, the Belgic provinces which had been so lately conquered.

The dispatch of M. Dumourier to the king of Hungary was accompanied by an affectionate letter in the king's own hand-writing to his nephew, entreating him by every motive to stop the effusion of blood, and assuring him that the conflict could only prove ultimately fatal to him, the king of France. With so little success, however, was this application attended, that the reply of the imperial minister seemed only to breathe an increased spirit of insolence and pride. The minister avowed openly the concert of princes against the constitution of France, and insisted upon certain terms, upon which alone the courts of Berlin and Vienna could not withhold from hostilities. These terms were—first, to guarantee the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine; secondly, to restore Avignon to the pope; and the third condition was the most singular of all, since, as it was indefinite, it must be notified according to that construction which the demandants might prefer, and was
incapable

incapable of any other definition. The terms of condition were, "That the neighbouring powers shall have no reason for the apprehensions which arise from the present weakness of the internal government of France." For the rest, M. de Noailles was referred to the official note of the 18th of March, which has been already noticed.

As the intentions of the combined courts could be no longer doubted, it was resolved in the council to declare war against the king of Hungary, Perhaps, notwithstanding the provocation which had been given to the French nation, it would still have been most politic to have been less precipitate, and to have compelled Austria to appear in every view in the character of the aggressor.

Such at least we are assured was the opinion of M. la Fayette, whose judgment appears in general to have been sound, and whose patriotism none but a violent and desperate faction has ever presumed to question. The proposal for a declaration of war was made, by the French king, to the assembly on the 20th of April, when war was decreed against the king of Hungary and Bohemia, amidst the applauses of the legislative body, and a numerous crowd of spectators*.

The motives alledged by the French nation, in their declaration for commencing hostilities, were—

That the court of Vienna, in contradiction to repeated remonstrances, continued to grant open protection to the

* It was utterly inconsistent with all the former public professions of the French nation to have been thus precipitate in declaring war. A state of war is the summit of human calamities; and any people who have the least regard to humanity, religion, or the rights of man, ought to be extremely *cautious*, and *averse* to bring such a dreadful calamity on the human race. "Only by pride cometh contention," says Solomon. Pride is the passion of fools, and national pride is the most foolish form of it. How often is the absurd and fancied *dignity* of nations the cause of murder and every species of injustice! The French evinced that they were not a *nation of Philosophers*, when they entered thus hastily into war. From the Despotic courts nothing of virtue and goodness could be expected; we therefore forbear to censure them.

The national troops, not yet accustomed to sustain the fire of regular soldiers, were thrown into disorder almost on the first attack. The general made every exertion to reduce them to their duty, and was observed in the line, exhorting them to keep their ranks. Unfortunately, in the midst of the confusion, some person, actuated either by cowardice or treachery, exclaimed,—"Sauve qui peut!" and the voice appeared to proceed immediately from the spot where M. Dillon stood. The suspicious and irritable temper of the French was instantly excited; a general cry of "Treason, treason, we are betrayed!" spread from rank to rank; the panic became universal, and the whole party fled before the pursuers in the utmost disorder, even to the gates of Lisle. The unfortunate commander, M. Dillon, was murdered almost as soon as he entered the city, and his dead body was torn to pieces by the soldiers and the mob. Their savage fury had scarcely satiated itself upon this victim, of popular delusion, before a party of the royal Cravate (a regiment of cavalry) rushing precipitately towards Lisle, overtook M. Berthois, an officer of engineers, beyond the Porte de Five. They no sooner saw him, than some of them exclaimed, "There goes another of these traitors!" and instantly fell upon the unhappy gentleman, who, after receiving several shots, fell from his horse; and the body being suspended from a lamp-iron, every soldier in the party discharged his piece at it as he passed. It was also said, that M. Chaumont, aid de camp to General Dillon, a priest under the suspicion of being a spy, and four Tyrolese prisoners, were murdered. It however afterwards appeared that M. Chaumont had only been missing, having been left for dead upon the field of battle. That one or two persons besides the general and M. Berthois, lost their lives in the affray, we are disposed to believe; but that they could not be prisoners, is certain, since the truth is, that the retreat of the French was so precipitate that no prisoners were taken.

The

The division under M. Biron took possession of Quiévrain on the 29th, without opposition, and marched towards Mons in three columns. The general reached Bossu without meeting any person except some travellers, who informed him of a grand movement of the Austrians. At the end of the village of Bossu, he was opposed by some hulans, whom he dispersed by a few discharges of cannon. As soon as he came in sight of Mons, he could discover that the heights before the city were occupied by a very considerable body of troops, advantageously posted, which, it appeared afterwards, were commanded by the baron de Beaulieu. The Austrians, it was evident, were more numerous than the French, and the general could discover some manœuvres which announced an intention to turn his right. Thus situated, M. Biron determined to wait the news of the attack towards Tournay. About five in the evening however, the enemy attacked part of his right wing at the village of Vannes. The French conducted themselves with great skill and firmness, and the Austrians were repulsed with some loss.

At length M. Biron received information from marshal Rochambeau of the defeat of general Dillon, and determined to retreat in the morning. Towards ten o'clock at night he saw the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons mounted on horseback without orders, and proceeding to the left of the camp, where they formed a column. He pursued them alone and unarmed, but was carried away with the column, which was in a quick trot, and crying out, they were betrayed. In this manner the general was carried for more than a league, before he could prevail on his flying troops to obey him. He succeeded at length, and brought them all, except thirty or forty, back to the camp; but the deserters proceeded on to Valenciennes, reporting that they were betrayed by M. Biron, who had deserted to Mons. On the 30th
at

at day-break M. Biron began his retreat, and arrived without molestation at Quievrain. Here he left M. Fleury with a part of his troops, and went to conduct the army to the camp they had occupied before Quievrain. He scarcely, however was arrived at this place, before the battalion of national guards, who covered Quievrain, were dispossessed by the hulans. M. Biron now conceived that the only means of saving the camp was to attack Quievrain, which he did with the 49th and carried it; but to keep it, some support was necessary; and the rest of the army, and the infantry in particular, were so exhausted with fatigue, that they were utterly unfit for service. The general therefore found himself under the necessity of abandoning his camp and train to the enemy, and of making a precipitate retreat to Valenciennes. Marshal Rochambeau posted himself with some squadrons on the heights of St. Sauve to favour the retreat, which was accomplished happily without a repetition of the same disgraceful scenes which had been acted at Lisle. The French sustained a considerable loss in this expedition, but more by hunger and fatigue than by the sword of the enemy.

The only one of the three parties which succeeded, was that under M. Carl, and which consisted of only 1400 infantry and 240 cavalry. This small party presented themselves on the 29th of April before Furnes, and the commander desired a conference with the magistrates; in the course of which, he informed them, that the French were not come to make war on the Flemmings, but to treat them as friends and brothers. The magistrates offered to deliver up the keys of the gates, but this was declined. The failure of the general plan obliged M. Carl to retreat to Ghywilde, and soon after to Dunkirk, with no other fruit from his expedition.

So ill concerted had the measures of the French ministry been, that M. Rochambeau complained that "the plan

plan of M. Biron's expedition was published in all the journals before he knew it officially;" and says, in his letter to the king, that "the ministers, and particularly the minister of war, wished to play the whole game, and made him only a piece to be moved about at will." On this account, and because he disapproved of offensive war, he desired permission to resign; and after some delay, marshal Luckner was appointed to the command of the northern army in his stead.

The news of the atrocities committed at Lisle were received at the capital with a universal sensation of horror; nor was the army under M. la Fayette less earnest in expressing its abhorrence, and in demanding justice on the murderers. The mention of this army leads us naturally back to the narrative of its operations. It was a part of the plan concerted in the French cabinet, that all the French troops should be in motion about the same time, and form, if possible, a general rendezvous in the centre of the Austrian Netherlands. Agreeably to this plan, M. la Fayette was to be at Givet by the 30th of the month; and though the orders only reached him on the 24th, and though he was in most respects very ill appointed, he was, by great exertions, enabled to provide seventy-eight pieces of cannon by the 26th, and on the same day dispatched a large body with the convoy of artillery, under the command of M. Narbonne, late minister of war, to penetrate by forced marches to Givet. It was a wonderful instance of activity in military operations, that M. Narbonne, with a heavy train of artillery, performed a march of fifty-six leagues, over ground generally bad, and which he had not had time previously to examine, in five days. The rest of the troops were equally punctual; and after driving in the patrols of the enemy arrived without loss on the appointed day. On the 1st of May major-general Gouvion took post at Bouvines, half way to Namur, and every thing appeared to conspire to

to crown this expedition with success. The failure of M. M. Biron and Dillon, however, rendered it utterly fruitless, though M. la Fayette continued to retain his post, and even slowly to advance upon the enemy.

Notwithstanding the repulse of the French northern army, on their attempt to penetrate the Austrian frontier, it was some time before the enemy was in a condition to retaliate. On the 17th of May a body of Austrians, to amount of three thousand, attacked Bavai, and took the garrison, amounting to eighty men, prisoners; but intelligence was no sooner brought of the attack, than M. Noailles with a van guard of cavalry was sent to the relief of the town. Marshal Luckner in person accompanied this advanced guard; and marshal Rochambeau followed to support him with a body of infantry. The expedition of the Austrians was, however, only a predatory excursion, and they had retreated two hours before the arrival of M. Luckner, and took with them a quantity of forage, which, in effect, appeared to be their principal object.

We left the army of M. la Fayette occupying a tract of country from Givet to Bouvines, and rather gaining ground gradually on the enemy. On the 22d and 23d of May, the advanced guard under M. Gouvion was employed in foraging, which, though attended with success, was also productive of considerable fatigue. On the 23d M. Gouvion was attacked at Hamphine, near Florennes, by a force, as it afterwards appeared, superior to his own, which amounted to only four thousand men. The Austrian advanced guard were twice repulsed; but M. Gouvion observing the great superiority of the enemy, gave orders to dispatch his camp equipage to Philipville; and this was effected with the loss of only twenty tents, which he had not the means of transporting. After this precaution, M. Gouvion effected a retreat with the utmost regularity. The French in this action had twenty-four killed and sixty-three wounded, and lost three pieces of cannon.

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The next action in which this army was engaged, though it was crowned with victory, was yet unfortunate for France, as it deprived the nation of one of its ablest generals and firmest patriots. On the 11th of June the Austrians attacked the advanced guard of M. la Fayette, at Grifelle near Maubeuge; but M. Gouvion, who commanded, aware of their design, dispatched his camp equipage to Maubeuge, and began a retreating fight, in which his infantry was constantly covered by the hedges, and the enemy's columns suffered considerably from his cannon. A violent hurricane prevented the main body from hearing the signals; but as soon as the news arrived at the camp a considerable reinforcement was conducted by M. Narbonne on the flank of the enemy; while M. la Fayette himself advanced with the main army. The Austrians abandoned the field, and a part of their killed and wounded, to the French, who pursued them more than a league beyond the ground of their advanced guard, which again took possession of its former post.

In the course of the action the lieutenant colonels of the regiments of Côte d'Or were killed; and M. Gouvion, enraged that an ammunition chest did not come up in time, went to expedite it with a hussar, towards a house not in sight of the enemy, and there by a most fatal accident was killed by a rolling bullet.

The desertion of the 4th regiment of hussars, and some other soldiers from Strasburgh, served to raise the hopes of the emigrants in favour of the probability of a counter-revolution. Their hopes, however, in this instance were ill founded, as it appears that the soldiers had been persuaded, by false pretences of their officers, and that a considerable number, when informed of the delusion, returned to their duty.

The concerns of the war, and the contests of party, occupied the national assembly so completely, that little was effected in the business of legislation from the commencement

mencement of the year. The decree which ordered the burning of the parchments, writings, and pictures, relative to the pedigrees of the nobility, was a further instance of that trifling spirit, so utterly disgraceful to the legislature of a great nation, which they already had frequently evinced. A decree passed about the same period, for educating at the expence of the nation those children who had been sent from St. Domingo to France, but whose parents or relations had been disabled by the troubles from remitting money for their support, was truly laudable. Some laws were also made respecting the crime of desertion, which, unless we consider them as adapted entirely to the exigencies of the time, must be accounted too severe for *even the military* code of a free country. The decree, however, for the suppression of privateering, was calculated in every view to reflect honour on a civilized nation. War is a state so naturally pregnant with evil, as to induce the benevolent mind to wish for every mitigation of his calamities; and the plunder of individuals is a shameful practice, calculated entirely to prevent the morals of a people, and to render them in every instance sanguinary and ferocious.

We have now to report a series of transactions, equally disgraceful and ruinous to France. When treating of the flight of the king, we intimated that the kingdom was not in a state to bear a second revolution. It was impossible, in the clash of parties, that there should not be a subversion of order and of property. It was impossible that a new government, in many instances opposite to all former principles, should be established without the most violent convulsion of the whole state. The first constitution was a sufficient deviation from the habits and prejudices of the French, it was as much as could be endured; and to attempt to carry further the democratic scheme, was to sacrifice the liberty they had already achieved.

The

The republican party thought differently; and they did not foresee that they must themselves shortly lose the power which they were about to assume by unjustifiable means, and that men of still more daring views and dispositions would be enabled to take the lead, and to follow their example in forcibly excluding them from that authority which they occupied. These were consequences which they did not foresee, but which they might have anticipated, had they studied history rather than metaphysics, and looked upon the manners of mankind rather than on theories of governments.

The designs of this party, almost from the first meeting of the new assembly, had evidently tended to the dethroning of the king, and the establishing a republic. The Jacobin clubs instituted in all the principal cities of the kingdom, and linked together by an intimate correspondence, constituted the great engine by which the public sentiment was to be changed. The press overflowed with productions abusive of royalty; the private characters of the reigning family were publicly calumniated; the sincerity of the king's acceptance of the constitution was questioned; and to keep the public mind in constant agitation, continual rumours were spread of his intending to quit the kingdom, and throw himself into the arms of the hostile powers.

The ascendancy of the Jacobins has been proved already in several instances. It was evinced in the late appointment of the ministry. On the resignation of M. de Grave, which soon followed the unfortunate affair of M. Dillon, M. Servan another violent Jacobin, was added to the ministry, which in the beginning of May was entirely composed of that party. In thus driving before the storm, the king acted with prudence and propriety, but he endeavoured to stem it too soon. Perhaps the sanguine temper of M. Dumourier, and a fond reliance on his own great abilities, might make him the
adviser

adviser of the king in these imprudent measures; perhaps the king might be wearied out with the continued insults to which he was exposed, and might determine upon one great and desperate effort to resume his lost authority. Be this as it may, it was not long before it was discovered, that there no longer existed that harmony and confidence between the members of the cabinet which was essential to the public safety; M. Dumourier was suspected of deserting his Jacobin friends, and was on most occasions in an actual minority with M. Lacoste, the minister of marine.

The republican party in the mean time were indefatigable in exciting the suspicions and turbulent spirit of the metropolis. The existence of what they termed an Austrian committee, or a combination of courtiers to betray the public to the house of Austria, was publicly asserted; and as the ex-ministers M. Montmorin and Bertrand were charged with being at the head of this combination, they determined on the prosecution of their calumniators. An unfortunate step which was taken by M. la Riviere, a judge of the peace, in citing M. M. Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, three deputies of the assembly, and among the most clamorous of the detractors of M. Montmorin, to appear before him, rather injured the cause it was meant to serve. A decree of accusation was passed against M. la Riviere, and M. M. Genlonne and Brissot undertook to prove the existence of an Austrian committee.

As the character of the king was implicated in the calumny respecting the traitorous combination, he wrote himself to the assembly, requesting that the truth of the report might be fully investigated, and if destitute of foundation, that the base inventors of it might be brought to punishment.—But such is the perverseness of mankind, that this interference of the king was censured as unconstitutional, and the application was heard only by a murmur of disapprobation.

On the 22d of May, M. M. Genfonne and Briffot brought forward their accusation against M. M. Montmorin and Bertrand; but their speeches were more replete with declamation than proof, and the only fact on which they could rest was a passage in a letter from M. Montmorin to the French minister at Vienna, in August 1791, in which he says, "The best men in the national assembly (viz. Barnave, Lameth, Duport; &c.) and those who have the greatest influence, are now acting in concert with the true servants of the king, to restore to his majesty the authority necessary to carry on his government." On the 1st and 2d of June, the ex-ministers submitted their defences in writing to the national assembly, who referred them to a committee.

As the rumour of the Austrian committee did not appear sufficiently to act upon the fears and suspicions of the multitude, and as there was an actual deficiency of evidence on that subject, another expedient was resolved on by the republican party, which appeared better calculated to promote their views. A report was industriously circulated, that on the 23d of May the king intended secretly to abscond from Paris; and to lend a colour to the fiction, M. Petion, the mayor, wrote to the commandant-general of the national guard, communicating his suspicions, and entreating him to employ every measure of observation and prudence. The letter of M. Petion produced an immediate reply from the king, directed to the municipality of Paris—His majesty treats the report as a new and horrible calumny, intended only to excite the people to insurrection, and to force him to quit the capital—He however assures them, that the efforts of these traitors shall be in vain.—"While France," says he, "has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, it is in the capital my post is to be established.—I commit myself," he adds, "without reserve to the citizens of Paris and the national guard—Surrounded by them,

and strong in the purity of my intentions, I shall wrap myself up in tranquillity, fearless of all events, &c.

M. Petion answered the letter of the king. He mentioned having received information from different quarters respecting the king's intended flight, but he omitted to specify the evidence on which he grounded his suspicion. From this circumstance therefore we are inclined to doubt the truth of the report. That the king, harassed as he was by the factions of the metropolis, and the intrigues of the Jacobins, might indeed meditate a second flight, is by no means improbable; that even supposing the suspicion not well founded, M. Petion might have received information to that effect, either from ill-intentioned or credulous persons, is equally to be believed; but in either case, the evidence on which the fact rested should have been brought forward; the case should have been elucidated by every possible means, since an accusation, unsupported by proof, must according to every law of evidence be deemed a calumny.

The French character, however, we have too frequently had occasion to intimate, is particularly prone to be acted upon by jealousy and suspicion. Notwithstanding the defect of evidence which we have just noticed, the king's intention to withdraw himself appears to have obtained some degree of credit; and as the body guard which had been allotted to the king by the constitution was particularly suspected of *invicisim*, it was disbanded by a decree of the assembly on the 30th of May, and the province of defending the person of the king was committed to the national guard of Paris. A decree of accusation was also passed against the commandant M. Brissac. At the same sitting two of the deputies attached to the court, M. M. Frondiere and Clave, were committed prisoners to the Abbey, on a charge of insolent conduct to the assembly.

The refusal of the king to sanction the decree against the refractory clergy, only served to provoke a measure of still greater severity and cruelty against those unhappy persons. On the 26th of May a decree was passed, authorising the banishment of any non-juring priest, on a petition presented to the directory of the district by twenty citizens. The ecclesiastic was, in such case, to declare to what foreign country he meant to retire, when he was to be furnished with a passport, to quit the district within twenty-four hours. To this decree also the king, after some deliberation, affixed his veto.

The national guard of Paris did not escape the suspicions of the republican party. They still feared or affected the Austrian committee. More therefore with a view to retain their power, and to preserve that controul which they had established over the measures of the court, than to protect the capital from its external enemies, it was proposed on the 6th of June, by the military committee—"That a camp of twenty thousand men should be formed under the walls of Paris—That to complete this levy, every canton in the kingdom should be obliged to contribute five men, one of whom was to be a horse-man; and that they were to assemble at Paris before the 14th of July, the day of the celebration of the general confederation, at which, to augment their patriotism, they were to assist." This proposal, which was first suggested by the minister of war, was received with infinite dissatisfaction by the national guard and volunteers of Paris; and as the object did not escape the penetration of the court, the king refused to sanction the decree.

Nearly about the same period, a proposal was made to the national assembly, by the section of Croix Rouge, that, as the necessity was urgent for arming the whole nation, in the present critical moment, and as the scarcity of fire-arms, and their immense price, rendered it impossible to many patriotic citizens to obtain a supply, the deputation requested the assembly to order an immediate

diate fabrication of pikes over the whole surface of the empire. It was, however, some weeks before the banditti of Paris was formally armed, in this manner, by a decree of the assembly—a decree which must ever be regretted as fatal to the cause of liberty.

Whether driven to desperation, or encouraged by the support which he experienced from some of the most respectable characters, and particularly from M. la Fayette, is uncertain; but the king seemed now determined spiritedly to vindicate his authority against his opponents. The event proved that this resolution was prematurely taken. He should have permitted his more violent adversaries more completely to expose themselves; he might even perhaps have made a selection from those who were not the most favourably disposed to the court, and, by friendly and ingenuous conduct, might have convinced them of the sincerity of his intentions, and might have made the best use of their influence with the people. The minister Roland was perhaps of this description; and as he carried with him to retirement the regrets of many unimpeachable characters, we can only believe that he was himself deceived with respect to the intentions of the king, or that the monarch did not, at least, act that steady upright part which the exigency of the times required.

On the other hand, it must not be denied that a numerous and active party, including some men of brilliant talents, though we think not of the soundest understanding, were determined on a republic; and they do not seem to have hesitated much about the means of accomplishing their purpose. It may therefore be doubted whether, if the king had temporized, the storm could have been averted. But however this may be, it certainly was the only mode of proceeding that could afford him a chance: this mode was (we think imprudently) rejected, and the king unsheathed the sword on the 12th of June,

June, when he announced to the assembly the dismissal of the Jacobin ministry, M. M. Servan, Claviere, and Roland.—M. Dumourier was appointed minister of war, and was to be succeeded in the foreign department by the French envoy at Deux Ponts; M. Mourges succeeded M. Roland, and M. Naillac was some time afterwards appointed the minister of finance.

Previous to his dismissal, M. Roland had written a letter to the king, which he afterwards published—the purport of which was, to press him to sanction the decrees concerning the banishment of the refractory clergy, and the camp near Paris. M. Roland also blamed the conduct of the king's guard, and represented to him that his proclamation, on its dissolution, in which he expressed the high satisfaction he had derived from its services, was an impolitic measure. As a private communication to the king, the letter of M. Roland might be calculated to do good; but he ought not to have published it.

In the mean time every means were employed to render the king odious in the eyes of the people. An infamous incendiary of the name of Marat had even exhorted the populace to murder their sovereign. Every thing on that side was permitted with impunity, and every thing on the other suppressed or prosecuted. The most seditious addresses were received by the assembly. The inhabitants of the suburb of St. Antoine, accompanied by immense crowds of the lower rank from all parts, and all armed with pikes, and headed by a M. Santerre, a brewer, on the 9th of June, presented to the assembly an address, congratulatory on the decree for the camp; and twenty thousand armed men, in direct violation of the laws, filed off through the assembly.

It was impossible that men of reflection should not foresee the natural consequences of such proceedings; it was impossible that men of virtue should not feel indignant at such open violations of every good and sound

principle. M. la Fayette, with more honesty perhaps than prudence, stepped forward on this occasion. He wrote a long letter to the assembly, dated from the camp of Maubeuge, the 16th of June, in which he draws a very formidable picture of the dangerous situation in which the nation was placed by the attempts of its enemies, foreign and domestic; he unveils the criminal designs of the Jacobin club, and attributes to that source of faction a considerable portion of the public calamities: he, at the same time, addressed a letter to the king, expressive of similar sentiments. If M. la Fayette was not well assured that the sentiments of his army concurred with the tenor of these letters, he should not have written them; if he was certain of the support of the military, he should have marched to Paris, and dispersed the traitors.

The situation of ministers now became too dangerous to be any longer desirable. The politic Dumourier wished to retrieve a portion of his lost popularity, and again attempted to court the favour of the Jacobins. He made a positive demand of the king, either to sanction the decree for the camp near Paris, or to accept his resignation. The king remained steady to his purpose, and the minister resigned, and was followed by M. M. Morgues, La Coste, &c. On the 18th of June, a new appointment took place; major-general Chambon was appointed to the office of foreign affairs, M. Lajard, minister of war, and M. Montciel, president of the department of Jura, was appointed minister of the interior; the department of finance was still kept vacant. M. Dumourier, in a letter to the assembly, requested permission to repair to the army, and concluded by wishing that the fate of Gouvion might speedily demonstrate his attachment to his country.

The agitation produced by the letter of La Fayette, and the avowed determination of the banditti of St.

Antoine

Antoine to present an address to the king, demanding the sanction of the obnoxious decrees, the threats of the disaffected, that they would plant as the tree of liberty, "an aspin in the garden of the Thuilleries," prepared the minds of the citizens of Paris for some great event. On Monday the 18th of June, the Jacobin club declared their sittings permanent. Their meeting was tumultuous and outrageous in the highest degree. They proposed that M. la Fayette should be sent to Orleans as a traitor; and others wished a decree to be passed denouncing him an enemy to France, and inviting all *good* patriots to murder him. While such were the debates within doors at the hall of the Jacobins, their emissaries without were busily employed in exciting the people to insurrection, and it is to be lamented that their endeavours were but too successful. On the 20th of June, in the morning, M. Ræderer, the procurer general syndic, appeared at the bar of the national assembly, and informed them, contrary to the laws, there existed in the city and suburbs the most formidable associations of armed men; that they threatened to proceed to the Thuilleries, to present a petition in arms, both to the king and the assembly. He entreated the legislature not to receive them, but to preserve the laws and the constitution inviolate.

While the assembly was debating whether this unconstitutional deputation should be received or not, an immense multitude, with M. M. St. Huruge and Sarterre at their head, presented themselves before the hall. They amounted, by their own report, to 8000; but in all probability they were still more numerous. They consisted of all the refuse of Paris, a large proportion of them women, and carried standards expressive of the most seditious purposes, one of which was a heart at the end of a pike, with an inscription beneath it, *cœur d'un aristocrate*. After a tumultuous debate they were

admitted. The orator, at the head of the deputation, indulged in a long and violent speech against the king, and the whole conduct of the court; and, as soon as he had concluded, the whole party marched through the hall—The procession lasted two hours; and in the end, M. Santerre presented the president with a banner, in return for the honour conferred on the inhabitants of St. Antoine.

In the mean time an immense crowd had collected round the palace and the garden of the Tuilleries. There was, however, a sufficient force of troops of the line and of national guards in the palace to have defended it against every attack; but a respect for the lives of the deluded multitude induced the king to forbear repelling force by force. At four o'clock in the afternoon the mob amounted to about 40,000, and the gates of the Tuilleries were thrown open to them. At the moment of their entrance, the royal family was at dinner, and on their attempting to break open the door of the apartment where the king was, he rose to prevent the guards from making resistance, and said calmly, "I will go to them, I will prevent them from breaking the door." On the instant that it opened, a pike which had been thrust against it to force it open, would have killed the king, but a chasseur turned the weapon aside with his hand. One of the mob now advanced, and insisted upon the king's wearing the red cap, which was the ensign of the Jacobins; and another presented him a bottle, and desired him to drink the health of the nation. Some of the attendants offered to bring a glass, but the sovereign refused the offer, and immediately drank out of the bottle.

It would be an unpleasing task to detail the indignities which were offered to the unfortunate monarch, or the torrents of abuse which he submitted patiently to hear. The mayor of Paris was unaccountably absent during

during the greater part of these disgraceful scenes. He at length arrived; he exhorted the mob to preserve moderation, and assured the king that he had nothing to fear—"The man," replied the monarch, "who has a clear conscience, fears nothing;" and, taking the hand of a grenadier who stood by him, he applied it to his breast, and said, "There, friend, feel my heart whether it beats quicker than usual."

To the incessant demands of the populace, the king replied, that it was his firm intention to preserve the constitution; and to the torrents of abuse, and the repeated threats against his life, he answered in a pathetic tone—"Alas! if my life could secure the good of my country, how willingly would I resign it as a sacrifice!"

The approach of night delivered the king from this dreadful persecution; the mayor embraced the opportunity to persuade the people to disperse, and between eight and nine o'clock the palace was cleared of those unwelcome intruders.

During the whole of the tumult, the princess Elizabeth continued close by the side of her brother, as if she was born to be the victim of her generous affection, and to partake in all his unmerited disgraces and misfortunes. On the first breaking in of the rabble, the queen fainted, and, with her children, was accidentally separated from his majesty, and conveyed to the apartments of the king's physician. As soon as she was recovered, in her distraction she attempted to penetrate to the king, but was stopped in her way thither, by the mob breaking into the council-chamber. Fortunately M. Lajard, the minister at war, and general Wittinghoff, had retired to the same spot. M. Lajard formed a kind of rampart of the great council table, which he placed against the door with a double row of national guards before it. Behind the table stood the queen, with her children, the princess de Lamballe, and some other ladies. In this situation

situation she remained the whole time, condemned to hear the most indecent reproaches, and the foulest imprecations, from the meanest and most depraved of her sex.

On the first entrance of the mob into the palace, a députation was sent from the national assembly, with orders to exert themselves for the preservation of peace; and during the course of the tumult, this députation was renewed three times.

The events of the 20th of June were a plain prelude to the downfall of monarchy, and we may add, of all government in France; and men of reflection foresaw many of those evils which have since happened to this devoted country. From this moment all respect to authority, all order and subordination ceased; a momentary shame indeed appeared at first in the Parisians, and the directory of the department, which was composed of some of the most respectable persons in the kingdom, at the head of whom was M. Rochefoucault, and the former bishop of Autun, M. Talleyrand, determined to take every step for preventing the repetition of similar outrages. The conduct of M. Petion on the occasion could not be viewed without suspicion. One of the first steps of the department therefore was to publish a declaration, "That the events of the 20th could not have taken place, if the laws in being, and particularly those relating to the public force, had been better known to the citizens, and been better observed by the magistrates charged with the execution of them." To this declaration M. Petion published a very voluminous answer, calling upon them to commence a prosecution, and protesting his innocence in general terms. The department next published an advertisement to the people of Paris, exhorting them to peace and subordination, and intimating that there existed a secret connexion between the external and the internal foes of the public tranquillity. At the same time a petition to the national
assembly

assembly, complaining in very strong terms of the outrages of the 20th, was signed by the most respectable of the inhabitants; and several addresses were received from different departments, to the same effect.

As the insolence of the Jacobins had increased to an intollerable excess since the affair of the 20th, and as their violence had been principally directed against M. la Fayette, that general conceived it expedient to present himself at the bar of the national assembly. He no sooner arrived at his hotel, than he was waited upon by several battalions of the national guards. A tree of liberty, ornamented with ensigns and cockades, was planted before his door, and every circumstance evinced the return of affection in the people to their former friend and benefactor. He appeared at the bar on the 20th of June, with that confidence and dignity which integrity alone can give. He assigned as a reason for his appearance among them, the shame and indignation of the army at the outrages of the 20th, which he said must have increased to an alarming degree, had he not thought it his duty to moderate their resentment against the factions of Paris, by assuring them that he would appear alone before the representatives of the nation, and demand in their name, that order, obedience, and respect for the laws should be restored. He avowed his letter of the 16th, entreated the assembly to come forward and save the country from ruin, by dissolving the factious clubs, and inflicting exemplary punishment on the promoters of the late disgraceful riots.

Notwithstanding the apparent gallantry of M. la Fayette's conduct on this occasion, we cannot help censuring it as unwise. If, we must repeat, the sentiments of the army were really such as he represented them, he ought to have taken advantage of them, and to have restored peace and liberty to his country, by marching to Paris, by publishing the movers and abettors of faction,
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by annihilating completely the Jacobin clubs, by removing the legislature from the disgraceful influence of the Paris mob, and by dissolving the present assembly, into which too many persons of desperate fortunes and unconstitutional designs had unfortunately obtruded themselves. If ever France is to be regenerated, and a free constitution given to it, it must be by some such proceeding! Perhaps, however, M. la Fayette might be mistaken in the principles of his army; and indeed the events which have occurred since the period of which we are now treating, seem to indicate that the loyalty of the soldiery was scarcely to be relied on.

The Jacobins were filled with consternation on the arrival of La Fayette; but it served only to redouble their activity in rendering him odious to the populace. The name of Cromwell was echoed from every press, and their indefatigable emissaries succeed so far with the mob, that he was burnt in effigy. In the assembly he was violently attacked by Isnard, Gaudet, and some others of the anti-constitutionalists, and was defended in a most able and eloquent speech by M. Ramond. Finding, however, that no good was to be effected in Paris, M. la Fayette left that city on the 30th, and proceeded immediately to his army.

That the officers at least of both armies sincerely sympathized in the indignity offered to the hereditary chief of the nation, is evident from the letter of marshal Luckner to the king, which was communicated on the 29th to the assembly by the minister of war. In that letter the marshal declares publicly his approbation of the conduct of M. la Fayette, and expresses in the most forcible terms the sentiments of the soldiers on the outrages of the 20th. "Their indignation, sire," says he, "was terrible and sudden, and the army admire your courage."

On the same day, the minister of justice communicated a plan which the king proposed as a substitute for
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the two decrees which he had refused to sanction—With respect to the protection of the capital, it was the proposal of the king to levy forty-two new battalions, to be stationed not at Paris, but between that city and the enemy, so as to form a second line behind the army then on the frontiers; and as to the danger apprehended from the refractory priests, the minister assured the assembly, that it was the strict intention of the king to enforce the execution of the laws against all disturbers of the public peace.

To prove that the intentions of the Jacobins were not what they professed, it has been well remarked, that at the period in question the army of la Fayette amounted to only between seventeen and eighteen thousand effective men, and that of Luckner did not exceed twenty-three thousand. The augmentation proposed therefore was certainly inadequate to the protection of the capital; and if intended sincerely for that purpose, it ought to have been stationed nearer to the frontiers, and in such a situation as might enable it to co-operate with the army already commissioned for the defence of the country. Such a force, stationed in or near the metropolis, would only add to the licentiousness already practised there—They must reciprocate in the corruption of morals and discipline, and, while they helped to deprave others, must be inevitably depraved in their turn.

The assembly persisted however in their decree, and the *federates*, for that is the name which was bestowed on these new levies, were invited by the Jacobins to repair to Paris without any lawful authority. On the 1st of July, on the motion of M. Jean de Brie, it was declared by the assembly, "that the country was in danger." Ten other resolutions were passed, ordering that all citizens, having been previously national guards, should be on permanent duty, and every officer at his post.

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While these affairs were transacting in the metropolis, the armies of France had made some progress in the Austrian Netherlands. On the 18th of June, Courtray surrendered after a short resistance to the arms of marshal Luckner; and about the same period, M. Carle took possession of Ypres and the country adjacent. M. la Fayette's army had also advanced and gained possession of St. Ghislain and the key of Mons. Marshal Luckner soon afterwards entered Menin.

The triumph of the French, however, was not of long duration. On the 6th of July, the king announced to the assembly, that one enemy more was added to the confederation against French liberty—That the insidious conduct of the king of Prussia had long indicated hostile intentions, and that he was now in the act of marching 52,000 men to co-operate with the king of Hungary. About the same period, the assembly received advices from marshal Luckner, signifying, that the numbers of the enemy were such, that it was impossible for him to proceed farther into the territories of Austria, without the risk of being cut off from a communication with the army of M. la Fayette; that the Prussians and Austrians were bearing down upon him in two columns; that in consequence of these circumstances he had ordered his camp to be raised, and was himself retiring towards Valenciennes, and M. la Fayette towards Givet. A subsequent dispatch announced the actual retreat of the armies, and that in breaking up the camp of Courtray, some of the enemy having got possession of the suburbs, they had fired upon field-marshal Jarry, who, to prevent the repetition of similar outrages, had set fire to the suburb and consumed several houses. The conduct of Jarry was considered as disgraceful and injurious to the cause of France, and he was in consequence of it afterwards dismissed from his command.

The motives which induced the victorious generals to abandon thus hastily the Netherlands, have never been completely

completely explained. Soon after the appointment of marshal Luckner to the northern army, it was generally understood that the plan and operations of the campaign were entirely left to the generals themselves; and yet it has been insinuated, and in part confirmed by some expressions which had fallen from M. Luckner himself, that they retreated only by the express orders of the court. Should this have been really the case, it forms indeed an article of charge against the unfortunate monarch, which it will not be easy to extenuate; and would almost prove the existence of a conspiracy in the court, most fatal to the liberties of the nation. The fact, however, has not yet been established upon competent evidence.

On the 5th of July, the king informed the assembly of his intention to celebrate the approaching anniversary of the confederation. He expressed his hopes that this festival would more strongly cement all good patriots in their country's cause, and disappoint the attempts of the factious. On the following day the directory of the department of Paris, after a long sitting, pronounced the suspension of M. Petion from the office of mayor, and of M. Manuel, the procurer of the commune. The federates about this period arrived at Paris in considerable numbers, while every circumstance announced the agitation of the public mind.

The extreme points on which the two parties differed, were that of pure democracy on the one part, and the institution of an upper chamber, similar to the British house of peers, on the other. Such an institution, as a remnant of aristocracy, was regarded by the French with almost as much abhorrence as absolute monarchy itself; while the establishment of it was considered as the great object with the court, as a preliminary step to the annihilation of liberty. The middle party was still numerous; and it was judged that there were many who might secretly incline either to the court or the republicans, who
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yet would be well disposed to sacrifice something of their prejudices to the preservation of peace and order. On the 7th of July, at the moment when M. Brissot had ascended the tribune, to pronounce a discourse on the means of securing the state against all its enemies, M. Lamourette, the patriotic bishop of Lyons, requested to be heard for a few minutes. He expatiated on the necessity of union, and most particularly among the members of the national assembly. "Let us make," said he, "a solemn sacrifice, of our passions and our prejudices, on the altar of our country; let us give a great example to Europe, and inspire our enemies with terror; there is nothing incompatible but vice and virtue. I move that the president put a question, in these terms—Let all who hold in equal estimation a republic and two chambers, and who wish to maintain the constitution as it is, rise!"

The words were scarcely pronounced, when the whole assembly, by an instantaneous impulse, rose from their seats—The two parties advanced and embraced each other, and solemnly protested their adherence to the constitution. A deputation, with the bishop of Lyons at their head, was immediately appointed to convey the joyful intelligence to the king; and the administrative bodies were charged to communicate it without loss of time to the citizens.

The bishop of Lyons, on returning from his deputation, informed the assembly of the satisfaction which the king had testified on being informed of what had passed. He had however scarcely finished, when the approach of the king was announced. He was received with loud and reiterated applauses. He was accompanied by his ministers, and placed himself without ceremony beside the president. He addressed the assembly:

"GENTLEMEN,

"No spectacle can be more affecting to me, than that general re-union of opinion and sentiment which has now
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taken place. This re-union I have long desired—at last my wish is fulfilled; the nation and the king form only one. The constitution will now become that point of union, around which all Frenchmen will assemble, in order to protect it, and the king will always set them the example.”

To this the president replied,

“ SIR,

“ This memorable epoch must inspire with the greatest pleasure all the friends of liberty. It is a dreadful epoch for its enemies—henceforth the nation is invincible. In vain tyrants conspire against liberty.”

Both these speeches were received with the loudest applause. The king made some efforts to answer, but was so much affected that he could only say, in a tone which indicated the utmost emotion, “ The pleasure which I feel is delicious.” He then retired, accompanied by a deputation, and the assembly rose, amidst the acclamations of *Vive la nation! Vive la liberté! Vive le roi!*

Thus ended this memorable session; this well-meant but fruitless effort to restore harmony and tranquillity. It is asserted to have been the spontaneous act of the bishop of Lyons, without any previous concert with any party whatever. The patriotic and well-disposed part of the assembly, however, we may well believe, cordially embraced an opportunity so favourable to the demonstration of the purity of their intentions; by most of the ardent spirits of both parties, it was also earnestly approved for the moment; and it was calculated in every event to have a temporary good effect. It afforded an opportunity to all who were fond of peace to disengage themselves from the trammels of party; and to this cir-

cumstance we may in part attribute the apparent tranquillity of the day of the confederation ; the evil therefore was at least deferred ; and, had the court either acted with more prudence, or the combined powers with more justice and honesty, the dissensions which so fatally divided France might perhaps have been finally composed.

The reconciliation of the 7th of July was considered by many as in some measure intended as a compromise of the parties, relative to the affair of M. M. Petion and Manuel ; and indeed the king, the very same evening, wrote to the assembly, intimating, that though to decide on their fate was a part of his constitutional prerogative, yet as the matter personally concerned him, he chose rather to refer it to the determination of the assembly. By his own party he was much blamed for this sacrifice of his prerogative ; but the action corresponded well with that love of peace which was so congenial to his disposition ; and he was doubtless wrought upon by the scene in which he had been so lately called upon to act ; the same evening the king announced that he had appointed M. de Joly to the home department.

Notwithstanding the favourable appearances of the 7th, it was soon found that the executive power had lost the confidence of the ruling party ; and the clamour was so great against its agents in the assembly, that all the ministers so lately appointed, except M. de Joly, resigned on the 10th ; and on their notifying their resignation to the assembly, the mob in the galleries had the indecency to applaud.

Addressees from the Jacobin party in different parts of the kingdom crowded in to the assembly in favour of the mayor and M. Manuel ; and the assembly, with their usual precipitancy, without examining the proofs, and merely after hearing a few florid speeches, pronounced them guiltless. M. Delsau conjured the legislative body
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to act with more dignity and deliberation. He painted in strong colours the disgraceful outrages which were acted in the Thuilleries on the 20th of June. He accused M. Petion of encouraging sedition, and of a want of respect for the hereditary representative of the nation. It is with pain we record that the galleries, those fatal galleries, which must be accounted among the prime movers of the national calamities, as they had before discarded all decency and order, now finished the outrage by destroying the freedom of debate; and M. Delfaut narrowly escaped from the tribune with his life.

During the first weeks of July, the federates arrived in Paris in small companies. They were courted by both parties, but most assiduously by the Jacobins. The number of the federates present, however, on the 14th of July, is said to have exceeded fifteen hundred. That day, as we have previously intimated, passed in tranquillity, and the confederation was celebrated with the usual magnificence. The concourse of people assembled has been stated at four hundred thousand. The national assembly met at nine o'clock, and proceeded to lay the first stone of the column of liberty, to be erected on the ruins of the Bastille. Before this ceremony was concluded, the king arrived, preceded by a numerous detachment of horse, a party of troops of the line, five hundred national volunteers, and the Swiss guards. He was accompanied by the queen, madame Elizabeth, the prince and princess royal, &c. The six ministers walked by the side of the king's coach.

A palm tree overshadowed the altar of liberty, and near it a pyramidal monument was erected to the memory of those who had expired on the frontiers, in the defence of their country. Between the altar and the Seine a poplar was planted, hung with escutcheons, and and other remnants of heraldic folly, which was set on

fire by the priest who performed mass at the grand altar, in allusion to the destruction of the feudal system.

Though the king was in general well received, the day did not pass without some degree of mortification to him. Several of the populace, armed with pikes, repeatedly shouted, *Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins, a bas le department, a bas le veto, &c.* At about six o'clock the king and the national assembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the constitution, and the royal family immediately afterwards returned to the Thuilleries. The federates on this occasion behaved with much order and loyalty; they appeared to join cordially in the shouts of *Vive le roi!* and some are even said to have testified by their exclamations their disapprobation of the factions.

Notwithstanding the deceitful calm which the spectacle of this day exhibited, notwithstanding the supposed reconciliation on the 7th, and the restoration of Petion and Manuel, still the discerning part of the public saw that the crisis was only deferred, and that the fatal contest was only ripening to maturity. The republicans have themselves confessed, that the plan for abolishing royalty was determined upon and settled at least as early as the 29th of July; and we may reasonably conclude, from their conduct, that it had been for a much longer period in agitation: on the other hand, it must be allowed, that the aristocratic faction was never inactive; the plans were innumerable which were presented to the king and queen from that quarter; and as the constitution was, from the objections which we have before stated, found to be in some measure impracticable, it is certain that if the king did not wish it entirely abolished, he at least wished it to be reformed: he felt himself, what he really was, a mere cypher in the government, and he naturally desired to be something more. His situation was indeed still worse than this; he was a cypher, with an immense weight of responsibility attached to him; he was posted

in a place of the greatest danger, without the advantages which ought to accompany such a station.

One of the most serious evils which the government at this crisis experienced, was the frequent impeachment and the consequent change of ministers; and it is a fact, almost unparalleled in the annals of any other country, that France had witnessed no fewer than twenty-six ministers move across the stage of public affairs in rapid succession, in the short space of six months. A few days after the confederation, a new administration was announced, which consisted of M. de Joly as minister of justice, M. St. Croix for foreign affairs, M. Dubouchage for the navy, M d'Abancour minister of war, M. Champion for the home department, and M. Lerooux de la Ville for that of finance. It was some time before this arrangement could be settled, for the office of minister was become at this period so much the post of danger, that the king was obliged to solicit many who could not be prevailed upon; and those who did, accepted the post only on the most pressing entreaty.

On the 22d of July, agreeable to a decree of the national assembly, proclamation was made in all the sections of Paris, "that the country was in danger." Three guns was fired from the Neuf every hour, from six in the morning till night. Picturesque scaffolds, representing fortifications, were erected in different parts of the city; on each of them a tent was erected, decorated with the national colours, in which sat the officers appointed to register the new levies for the frontiers, and the camp to be established at Soissons. The proclamation was made in a solemn manner by the municipal officers on horseback, and the whole ceremony had such an effect on the minds of the populace, that in a few days several thousands had enrolled themselves.

In the mean time the federates arrived from all parts in considerable bodies; those from the southern provinces were the most ferocious, both in conduct and appearance, and from the circumstance of the majority of them coming from the neighbourhood of Marseilles, the appellation of Marsellois has been almost indiscriminately applied to this description of volunteers. They consisted chiefly of the lowest and most dissolute of the rabble from every part, many of them immediately from the galleys, and were in every respect well calculated to fraternize with the sans culottes of Paris.

From the first moment of their arrival, they manifested a savage and turbulent disposition. Innumerable instances are recorded, by the aristocratic writers, of their ferocity; some undoubtedly fabulous, but too many beyond the reach of contradiction. One of their first outrages was committed on the person of M. d'Espremenil, who had rendered himself so famous in the first legislature as the champion of monarchy. He was walking peaceably on the terrace of the Feuillans, when he was attacked by a party of these savages, and, after receiving some dangerous wounds, was rescued at last from destruction by the courage and humanity of M. Jonneau, a member of the national assembly, assisted by four grenadiers of the national guards.

It was not long before the Marsellois were engaged in another riot, by wantonly attacking a party of the national guards, who were dining peaceably together under the trees *champs elisees*. In this conflict a grenadier of the national guards was massacred; but the Marsellois were at this period of too much consequence to be punished by the party in power.

The resentment of the Jacobins appeared for the present to be principally directed against M. la Fayette. The consistency of this respectable patriot had mortally offended these factious spirits; they had tempted him
with

with the highest bribes, and the most splendid promises; but he proved inflexibly attached to the party of the king, and determined to fall with the constitution. His ruin was therefore resolved upon; and the spirit which he evinced in his late fruitless journey to Paris, determined them to exert themselves to procure his immediate dismissal. The Jacobin clubs had been occupied for weeks in debates on the treason of La Fayette, and innumerable inflammatory addresses were presented to the assembly against him.

The principal ground of complaint was that of having quitted the army without leave; and the first motion in the assembly on this subject imported, "that the minister of war should be interrogated whether M. la Fayette had received an order from him, authorizing his journey to Paris on the 28th of June." This motion, however, when put to the vote, was rejected by a considerable majority: the Jacobins, thus disappointed, still cherished the expectation, that by keeping alive the public resentment against him, the assembly might at some period be found to be more propitious to their wishes. The consideration of his petition was deferred from day to day, and whenever it came under consideration, the most violent debates took place. In the mean time, a new circumstance was brought forward to inculcate the general. On the 21st of July, after much intemperate language, M. Lafource pledged himself to the assembly "that La Fayette had proposed to lead his troops to the capital, and that M. Bureaux de Pusy had made the proposition to marshal Luckner." In support of this assertion, M. Lafource appealed to the testimony of M. M. Briffot, Guadet, Genfonné, Lamarque, and Hérault, and demanded that M. Luckner should be cited to give his evidence to the facts. The speech of M. Lafource was greatly applauded by the wretched mob in the galleries, while M. Dumoland, and every person who
spoke

'poke in favour of the general, was actually hissed' down by those disturbers of decency and order. In support of the allegation of M. La source, the following certificate was laid on the table, and the discussion was adjourned till marshal Luckner should have explained himself upon the subject. In the mean time M. Bureaux de Pufy, and the other parties, were summoned to the bar of the convention.

C E R T I F I C A T E .

“ Some members of the national assembly having had an opportunity of seeing M. the marechal Luckner, on the evening of the 17th of July, at the house of the bishop of Paris, and having asked him if it was true, that it had been proposed to him, on the part of M. la Fayette, to march to Paris with his army, after the event of the 20th of June,—M. the marechal Luckner answered in these terms:—‘ I do not deny it ; it was M. Bureaux de Pufy ; he who has been, I think, three times president of the national assembly. I replied to him, I shall never lead the army I command but against our external enemies. La Fayette is at liberty to do what he pleases ; but if he marches to Paris, I will march after him, and I will drub him. M. Bureaux de Pufy then said to me, But the life of the king is in danger ! There is what he said to me ; and they made me other proposals still more horrible.’ ”

“ Such were the exact expressions of the marechal Luckner, which we heard, and which we attest.

(Signed)

BRISSOT,
GAUDET,
GENSONNE,
LASOURCE,
LAMARQUE,
DELMAS.”

On

On the 29th of July, M. Bureaux de Pufy appeared at the bar, and not only refuted on his own testimony this atrocious calumny, but produced actual copies of the letters which he carried to marechal Luckner, with the marechal's answers, and which regarded only the plan of the campaign. From these letters it appeared, that M. la Fayette had intimated to marechal Luckner his intention of proceeding alone to Paris, in consequence of the atrocities of the 20th. of June, and that the marechal had objected to it, solely on account of the personal danger which he would incur by such a step: M. de Pufy deposited on the table the private letters of the generals, in which the sentiments of both were clearly revealed, and from which it appeared that the former professed himself in these terms: " Ever since I have breathed, I have lived only for the cause of liberty; I will defend it to my last sigh against every species of tyranny." And that the latter, when he had received an intimation of an intended denunciation, wrote in these terms to M. la Fayette: " I have been told they mean to denounce us, I wait for more information, but most certainly I will live in peace, or will give up my commission." After this complete and satisfactory testimony, M. Guadet observed, " That he should not wonder if certain persons prevailed on M. Luckner to recant."

On the following day a letter was received from M. la Fayette himself; the contents of which were as follow:

Longwi, July 26th, Fourth Year of Liberty.

" The minister for the home department has signified to me an act of the legislative body of July 21, and the information which six of its members have signed.

" If I were questioned respecting my principles, I should say, that, as a constant proclaimer, and defender of the rights of man, and the sovereignty of the people, I
have

have every where and always resisted authorities which liberty disfavoured, and which the national will had not delegated; and that I have every where and always obeyed those of which a free constitution had determined the forms and the limits.

“ But I am questioned respecting a fact—Did I propose to marechal Luckner to march to Paris with our armies? To which I answer in four words—*It is not true.*”

“ LA FAYETTE.”

The letter of marechal Luckner himself was not less decisive against the testimony of the six members of the assembly. He denied in strong terms that ever any proposal was made to him of marching to Paris, and lamented that such a construction should be put upon a conversation, which it was evident these gentlemen must have misunderstood. It was indeed something very singular, and by no means favourable to their veracity, that they had suffered the marechal to depart from Paris without citing him to the bar, or demanding any explanation of so extraordinary a conversation.

The decision upon the charges against M. la Fayette was deferred to the 8th of August, when a long and tumultuous debate took place. M. Jean de Brie, one of the most factious members of the assembly, made the report, which concluded by proposing a decree of accusation, and was highly applauded by the disgraceful mob that infested the galleries. He was answered in a most able and eloquent speech by M. Vaublanc, who was hissed vehemently by the galleries, but applauded by the majority of the members: at length the motion for a decree of accusation was rejected by four hundred and six voices against two hundred and twenty four.

It was evident from this decision, that the assembly, weak and incompetent as it was, still preserved some share

share of decency in its character and proceedings ; but the Jacobins had made their party certain : the mob were completely devoted to them, and they hoped to carry by their force the boldest measures. Innumerable addresses had been presented to the legislature, which contained the most insolent and outrageous abuse of the king and royal family ; even the constitution which had so lately been an object of adoration with the whole nation, was openly reviled both within and without the doors of the assembly, and the galleries never failed to testify their displeasure with their usual indecency. The restoration of Pétion was the signal to the directory of the department to resign, though their only crime was endeavouring to restrain the fatal insanity of faction, and to support a constitution they had laboured to establish.

While we cannot but censure these unwarrantable proceedings, the same principle of candour and equity obliges us to look to their origin, the concert of Princes against France. That concert has been avowed by themselves, and it could not have been founded in any motive of virtue or good will to France. We have freely animadverted on the defects in the constitution established by the assembly in 1791. The great error in that constitution was the weakness of the executive government. But that was not to be removed by external attack, or the interference of foreigners. Time, the continuance of peace, the support of his nobility and kindred, who basely forsook him for the purpose of gratifying their own private resentment, were the only means of restoring to Louis XVI. that reasonable share of authority which was likely to effect his own and his people's happiness : but we cannot suspect the hostile sovereigns of any such benevolent design as that of procuring for France a just and equal government : their success should the contest terminate in their favour, will explain their designs ; it will then appear whether or not their immediate object was to take advantage

advantage of the distress of France to procure to themselves what is always the foolish passion of monarchs, an accession of territory.

Some time must generally elapse before the veil is entirely removed from political transactions. Whether there actually existed or not a connection and correspondence between the hostile powers and the court of France, whether the league of Pilnitz and the inimical proceedings of Austria were either planned by the royal party at home or approved by the king, is at present involved in impenetrable obscurity. The affirmative is almost universally believed in France; but it is believed on presumptive, and not on positive evidence; on the other hand the friends of Louis have been strenuous in denying the charge. They assert that his personal influence with Leopold actually prevented that monarch from engaging in hostilities, and that every effort was made as a sovereign and a brother, by the able and trusty agency of M. Bigot de St. Croix to induce the emigrant princes to return to the bosom of their country.

What ever conclusion posterity may be disposed to draw upon this subject, upon better evidence than lies before the public at this period, certain it is, that every measure of the combined courts appeared calculated to precipitate the ruin of the unfortunate monarch, for whose cause they professed to have taken up arms. It was of little immediate avail to him, whether he was really innocent of any traiterous design against his country or not, provided it was believed in France; and how should it not be universally believed, when the emperor and the king of Prussia positively asserted in their proclamation, that "the king was not sincere in accepting the constitution?"

The insulting and sanguinary manifesto issued at Coblenz on the 25th of July, by the duke of Brunswick, insinuated the same fact, and, as well as that of the 27th of

of the same month, was calculated to have the worst effect upon the populace of Paris. It left no middle party in the nation; all who wished to preserve a government, in any degree popular; all who conceived that a limitation of the supreme authority was a desirable circumstance, were thrown, by these measures, into the hands of the avowed republicans, and felt themselves compelled to give way to the sanguinary madness of that fanatical party, or at once accede to the destruction of liberty by the army of the duke of Brunswick—A fatal alternative, which rendered it almost impossible to be at once the friend of order and the friend of liberty!

The unfortunate Louis did not dare to present this declaration to the assembly as an authentic paper. The very letter which submitted it to the inspection of the legislation questioned its authenticity; and though the royal message was replete with the strongest, and probably the most sincere expressions of patriotism, the proposal of printing it for the use of the departments was rejected, and the notoriety of the matter authorized in point of fact the insolent remark of M. Isnard, "that the king had asserted what was not true." The republican party acquired new accessions of vigour and of authority; and on the 3d of August the fatal die was cast, when M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly to demand the deposition of the king. The audacious proposal was heard with horror by all good patriots; but it was followed by others of the 6th and 7th. A petition had lain for eight days on the altar of the Champ de Mars, and was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, who were preceded by a pike crowned with the Jacobin ensign, the red woollen cap, with an inscription upon it, "The deposition of the king."

In compliance with these repeated requisitions, the assembly at length determined to come to a decision on this
this

this difficult and dangerous subject, and the fatal 10th of August was appointed for the discussion. The assembly, however, had exhibited some proofs of caution and temperance which did not coincide with the impetuosity of the Jacobins, and the urgency of their cause.

The federates had been detained on different pretences in the metropolis; and even if their stay could be protracted, the leaders of the party were doubtful whether harmony could long exist between them and the mob of Paris: the passions of the people were now inflamed; but the French are versatile, and a change of opinion might succeed. In few words, there can be little doubt but that it was well understood that the people were to be excited by the Jacobin party, and that force and a mob were to effect what they despaired of from legally constituted powers. In proof of this assertion many facts might be adduced. To some foreigners regular notice was given by the leaders of this party to absent themselves from Paris on that day; and we know from the best authority, that one of the most active in the conspiracy was heard to say, "If we cannot provoke the people to rise by the tenth, we are lost."

C H A P. VIII.

Preparations for the defence of the Thuilleries—Election of a new commune—Murder of M. Mandat—The king and royal family desert the palace—The Thuilleries attacked by the Federates—Resistance and massacre of the Swiss—Death of M. Clermont Tonnerre—Deposition of the king, and accusation of the ministers—Imprisonment of the royal family—Murder of M. de Rochfoucault—Flight and imprisonment of La Fayette—Submission of the other generals—Capture of Longwy and Verdun—Execution of ministers—Banishment of the priests—Horrid massacre on the 2d of September—Murder of the princess de Lamballe—Decree proposed for forming a battalion of regicides—Advance of the combined armies—Action at Grand Pré—Armistice—Retreat of the Prussians—Recapture of Longwy and Verdun—Weakness of the court of Berlin—Ill conduct of the combined armies—Sieges of Thionville and Lisle—Declaration of war against Sardinia—Conquest of Savoy—of Nice—Transactions with the republic of Geneva—Success of Custine—Capture of Spire, Worms, Mentz, and Frankfort—Recapture of the latter.

WHILE such were the evident designs of the adverse party, the king was not uninformed of their proceedings; and as no alternative now appeared but to repel force by force, preparations were made for defending the Thuilleries in case of an attack. The dreadful Rubicon was now passed, and no hope of the return of harmony or peace remained. A solemn gloom overspread the palace, and superseded the native gaiety of the French nation. Loyalty and friendship were now put to the severest test; and the question was not, who will conquer, but, who will die in the defence and in the presence of his sovereign? Amidst his accumulated misfortunes, a small and firm band retained their attachment to the king, and upon different motives devoted themselves

themselves to his defence. Among these might be counted some of the remnants of the ancient aristocracy, who made this last sacrifice to their principles, and whose errors, when united with such disinterested virtue, became respectable. Some had been among the most forward of those who united in the first efforts to meliorate the condition of their countrymen, but, equally remote from anarchy and despotism, now dreaded the evils which impended on a total alteration of government: some were the personal friends of the fallen majesty of France; some from gratitude; some from prejudice; some pregnant perhaps with improbable hopes; and some, in the phrensy of despair, crowded round the tottering standard of royalty.

Among these brave and gallant men, none were more respectable than the Swiss guards. By repeated decrees of the assembly, this body of troops had been considerably reduced; and even on the 7th of August the king had been obliged to dismiss three hundred of them. The departure of the whole from Paris had indeed been decreed; but the king, upon the plea that the arrangement pointed out by the legislature was contrary to the treaty with the Helvetic body, had deferred the execution of the decree; and the number which remained in the Thuilleries, previous to the 10th of August, was about seven hundred. On these the court party placed their strongest reliance for the defence of the palace.

Besides the Swiss, the number of gentlemen and others who repaired to the palace on this melancholy occasion, is said to have amounted from twelve to thirteen hundred men.

As these were, however, not considered as quite sufficient, the commander of the national guards, M. Mandat, an honest man, and attached to the constitution, having represented to the mayor the apprehensions which he entertained for the safety of the royal family, had obtained

obtained from that magistrate a written order to defend the palace with all his force, and to repel the attack of any invader. The detachments of national guards, which M. Mandat had ordered to the palace upon this occasion, are stated at about two thousand four hundred men, with twelve pieces of cannon; and to these we may add the *gendarmérie à cheval*, a body of cavalry amounting to about one thousand.

With this force, well-ordered and well-arranged, it is the opinion of some, that had there existed a sufficient portion of spirit, firmness, and unanimity in the council within the castle of the Thuilleries, it might successfully have resisted the designs of the republicans. Some dependence was also to be placed upon the temper and moderation which the majority of the assembly had lately exhibited, and upon the indignation which the more respectable inhabitants of Paris had expressed with respect to the outrages on the 20th of June.

The 9th of August was spent in tumultuous and disturbed debates in the assembly. M. Vaublanc and some other of the members, suspected of an attachment to the cause of royalty, complained they had been pursued, ill treated, and in danger of being assassinated; and claimed the protection of the nation. As the assembly manifested an inclination to proceed with deliberation in the decision of the great question relative to the suspension of the king, the impatience of the populace was greatly excited. The mayor appeared at the bar, and alledged he could not be answerable for the peace of the city; he added, that it was generally understood that the alarm-bell would sound at midnight, and that the palace was to be assailed.

Within the Thuilleries all was consternation and dismay. Some shew of order was however preserved. At about eleven o'clock at night the mayor repaired to the palace, where he remained till between two and three o'clock in

the morning. There is no proof that he was detained by force; but the disaffected made use of the circumstance of his remaining there to circulate a report to the injury of the royal party, that he was either murdered or kept as a hostage. As the report however reached the assembly, which sat all night, the president thought proper to order him before them and he immediately appeared at their bar. M. Petion was afterwards, probably by his own desire, put under an amicable arrest by his own party at his house, as he was ashamed or afraid to appear more openly in so disgraceful a transaction.

At midnight the alarm-bell was sounded, and the drums beat to arms through the city. In this moment of confusion a most unjustifiable and illegal step was taken. As it was pretended that the present council of the commune did not possess the confidence of the people, a few persons from each of the sections immediately assembled to elect a new one, and the measure was carried into effect upon the spot, to the exclusion of the whole municipality, M. M. Petion, Manuel, and Danton, only excepted. This self-elected commune took immediate possession of the common-hall, and proceeded to such measures, as might more effectually promote the designs of the insurgents.

One of their first resolves proved fatal to the royal party. As M. Mandat was known to be a determined supporter of the constitution, as it was evident that his presence would afford the strongest encouragement to the national guards, and would greatly contribute to the retaining of them in their duty, and as the order which he had received from the mayor was an additional authority in the eyes of the soldiery and the people; it was determined by any means to deprive the king of his essential support. The creation of a new municipality was not known at the palace; and under the cover of this delusion a message was dispatched to M. Mandat, requiring

ing his attendance at the common-hall, under the presence that he had something of the utmost importance to communicate to him. M. Mandat was at that moment occupied in assigning to the detachments of the national guards their different posts; and, as if suspicious of a conspiracy against his life, he hesitated to obey the order. A new message more pressing than the former was therefore sent; and M. Ræderer, the procureur-syndic, who is by some suspected of being a party in the plot, joined with two other municipal officers who were present, in persuading him to obey the commands of the constituted authorities. He left the palace about four o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the town-house, accompanied by a single aid-du-camp.

We may easily imagine the surprize of this unfortunate officer at meeting an assembly so different from what he had expected; and his surprize must have been augmented at finding himself abruptly charged with a plot to massacre the people. After a short interrogation he was ordered to the abbey prison; but as he descended the stairs he was shot through the head with a pistol, and instantly dispatched with spears and hangers. M. Sarterre was appointed by the same authority to the command of the national guard, which however he did not immediately assume.

The king had not closed his eyes during the whole of this eventful night; indeed the only part of the family who had retired to rest were the royal infants. At six o'clock it was thought expedient that the king should review the troops. He accordingly proceeded to the court-yards, where he was saluted with the acclamation of *Vive la Roi!* from the Swiss, and it was echoed by the national guards. The artillery, however, and the battalion of *Croix Rouge*, shouted *Vive la Nation!* and some of the more insolent and disaffected, *Vive Petion!*

As the national guards were deprived of their commander, and consequently at that moment were governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery soon became contagious, and their unruly and indecent conduct evinced how little dependence was to be placed upon their fidelity.

As soon as the king returned from reviewing the troops, the gentlemen who were in the palace formed themselves into regular companies of life guards; and as most of them were trained to arms, they formed in an admirable manner for the protection of the interior of the palace, and, animated by enthusiasm and despair, would undoubtedly have made a most gallant defence, had the king remained at their head. The national guards within the palace were addressed in strong and pathetic terms by the king and queen. They were penetrated by the enthusiasm of loyalty; an involuntary tear started into every eye, and in language more expressive than words, every one appeared to profess his intention to die for monarchy and the constitution.

Posterity will perhaps condemn, and the unhappy monarch had reason to regret, the sudden resolution into which he was impelled by the timidity or treachery of M. Ræderer. At eight o'clock that officer entered the council chamber where their majesties were, at the head of the department; and his first words were, "No person shall interpose between the king and the department." He requested to speak with the king and queen in private; he proceeded to represent the imminent danger which at this moment impended over their majesties and all that were attached to them; he assured them that very few of the national guard were to be depended upon, and that the majority were totally corrupted. That instead of defending the palace, they would instantly join the assailants; that the number of the insurgents were such that it was infantry to oppose; and entreated that they would repair

as the only asylum which was open to them, to the national assembly. The queen whose penetration led her to suspect a conspiracy, and whose force of mind was generally more disposed to resistance than submission, opposed with vehemence M. Ræderer's proposal, and exclaimed—"that sooner than remove she would be nailed to the walls of the palace." But the habitual gentleness of the king's character induced him to comply. They strictly forbade their aristocratic friends to accompany them; but it was with grief and reluctance that they submitted to the command of their beloved master, to separate themselves from his person in the hour of calamity and danger.

The king met with no interruption in crossing the Thuilleries to the stair-case leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but there he was detained near a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled with the grossest abuse the most alarming threats against his royal person. The directory of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way, and one of the most forward of the insurgents snatched the Prince Royal out of the queen's arms, and carried him to the assembly.

The legislative body at the moment their majesties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for sending a deputation to conduct the king and the royal family to the hall. As soon as he entered, the king seated himself by the side of the president, and addressed the assembly in these words: "I come hither to prevent a great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." The king and queen were accompanied by their son and daughter, and princess Elizabeth—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the hall to introduce them.

A singular debate took place immediately on the entrance of the royal family. It was observed by a member, that according to the constitution, the deliberative functions of the assembly were suspended by the presence of

the king. It became therefore a matter of some embarrassment to know where to dispose of the unfortunate monarch: some were for placing him at the bar, and others in the galleries. The king with his family then retired to the benches destined to the ministry; but this was still objected to: at length it was observed, that they might be accommodated in a small box, about ten feet square, on the right hand of the president, separated by an iron grating, and which had been appropriated to the editors of a newspaper, at that time well known under the title of the *Logographe*, but which has since been suppressed. In this confined situation the royal family spent fourteen hours on a burning hot day, exposed to instant danger, and loaded with indignities.

The reports that had been industriously circulated of a plot formed within the palace for the massacre of the citizens, had already caused the savage multitude to thirst for blood. In the course of the night, twenty-two persons had been arrested under various suspicions in the sections of the *Feuillans*, and imprisoned in the guard-house. Eleven of them, who were confined in a separate apartment, had however the good fortune to save themselves by leaping out of a window into the adjoining garden. For some time the insurgents had been very clamorous in the court of the *Feuillans*, demanding the sacrifice of the prisoners, and about half past eight a municipal officer ascended a bench, and exhorted them with great humanity to abstain from violence and cruelty. This respectable magistrate was soon silenced by clamour, and a horrid banditti, headed by a wretch who disgraced the name and form of woman, a prostitute of the name of *Theroigne*, proceeded to the committee, to demand their immediate slaughter. Nine innocent persons were thus inhumanly murdered, some of them by the hands of the infamous *Theroigne*. Among these was a *M. Sulea* a man of letters, of great merit, whose only crime was being

being attached to his king, and the abbe Bouyou, a dramatic writer. Their heads were immediately fixed on pikes and carried as trophies round the city, to increate (had it been necessary) the cannibalism of the populace, and the fears and horror of all honest men.

It was a most unfortunate circumstance, that the king, on his departure from the palace, did not leave distinct orders to those who remained to capitulate. Much bloodshed would probably have been avoided by this means; and there is even some reason to think that the event might have proved more favourable to the king himself than it did. The democratic party charge this neglect to the duplicity of the king, who they alledge wished to secure two chances to himself; the restoration to his former dignity, should the party within the palace prove victorious; and at the worst he expected to escape with his life by taking shelter in the national assembly. This account of his motives is, however, probably no more than one of those uncharitable insinuations which at such a crisis the malignity of party usually invents; and the conduct of the king is more naturally to be attributed to that confusion and anxiety, which at such a crisis deprives the most collected mind of half its functions. At this instance we can reason with temperance and judgment; but how should we have acted, if placed in circumstances so extremely difficult and trying to human infirmity?

To complete the public calamity, time was not allowed to remedy the omission; for before orders could be dispatched to this effect, before recollection had perhaps suggested to the king the necessity of forwarding such orders, it was too late. The royal family were scarcely seated in the box of the Logographe, when a dreadful cannonading shook the assembly. Some members rose from their seats, and appeared disposed to seek their personal safety by flight; but the president calling them

them to order, desired them to recollect that every man was at his post. The king informed the president that he had left strict orders with the Swiss not to fire upon the people.

It has been disputed who were the first aggressors on this unhappy occasion. The point appears difficult to ascertain, and of but little importance when decided. We shall report the progress of this deplorable contest as far as the materials we are in possession of will enable us to proceed.

The number of the insurgents has been stated at about twenty thousand effective men. The crowd of idle spectators who followed them, partly from curiosity and partly in hopes of plunder, is not to be estimated. The active rebels consisted chiefly of the lower class of the inhabitants of the suburbs, distinguished, as we before intimated, by the appellation of *sans culottes*, with some hundreds of the Marseillois, and other federates, who were certainly the most daring, and contributed most to the success of the enterprise. They were marshalled in tolerable order under the command of a Prussian, a soldier of fortune, of the name of Wiesterman, and were armed, some with spears, some with muskets, and had with them in the centre no less than thirty pieces of cannon.

The retreat of the king was fatal to the defence of the palace. The gentlemen within formed themselves, as well as they could, part with and part without arms, in military array; but as they had it no longer in charge to defend the person of the king, they should have mingled with the national guards, and kept up their spirits by laying aside those distinctions which they knew were become so odious to the people. The most loyal among the national guards were dispirited by the loss of their commander, and disgusted by the flight of the king. Murmurs circulated among them; the purpose
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of which was, that "they were inevitably betrayed, and that with aristocrats on the one hand, and with the Swiss on the other, they were between two fires." Even the Swiss themselves were completely discouraged. Their commander in chief, M. Affry, was absent; M. Bachmann, second in command, and his adjutant, had accompanied the king to the national assembly; the captains of the companies were either not at their posts, or those who remained were utterly at a loss what course to pursue.

At about a quarter past nine the gates of the cour royale were forced open, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of the Marseillois, whose leader drew them up in two square divisions facing the palace. They brandished their spears, and levelled their pieces with menacing gestures; while the Swiss and national guards from the windows entreated them by signs to keep the peace and withdraw.

A few of the *sans culottes* at length proceeded to the foot of the first stair-case, and seized the Swiss sentinel, and soon after five other of his countrymen, disarmed them, and the main body then rushing in, cruelly beat out the brains of the defenceless victims. On observing this outrage, the Swiss drew up in order of battle, some on the stair-case, others on the steps facing the chapel door, and seeing no alternative but to stand on the defensive, fired upon the murderers. At the same moment a national officer who headed a party of the rebels, having fired his pistol against the walls of the palace, provoked those who were in the windows to return the fire. The assailants then applied their matches to the cannon, and the engagement soon became general.

The contest chiefly lay between the Marseillois and the Swiss. The national guards within the palace appeared at a loss what party to take. Either way a semblance of duty appeared to disarm them, and with-
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hold them from active measures. The gendarmerie were in the same situation, and a party of them who had their station near the coach-houses, were at one time raked by two fires from the Swiss and the rebels, and out of one hundred men lost twenty-five in this inglorious inactivity. After a most gallant resistance of more than an hour, in which the Swiss were frequently victorious in different parts, these brave men, from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The banditti, enraged instead of being interested by their gallantry and fidelity, pursued the fugitives with the rancour of savages, and the victory was converted into a massacre. The national guards, either from policy or from that enthusiasm which we know to be contagious, united with the populace in the extermination of those whom but just before they had regarded as their fellow-soldiers. All the Swiss who were in the palace were murdered; many of them on their knees imploring quarter. A small party of seventeen had taken refuge in the vestry-room of the chapel; and as they had not been engaged from the first, they imagined that they might secure the clemency of their victors by surrendering at discretion, and shouting *Vive la nation!* but they no sooner laid down their arms, than they were put to death. Another party attempted to escape through Marfan Court; about eighty were killed, the remainder secreted themselves in hay lofts, and in other lurking places; some persons lent them clothes to disguise themselves, and a few of them consequently escaped, but several afterwards died of hunger and fatigue.

The gentlemen who remained in the palace saw no alternative at this formidable crisis, but to proceed as well as they could to the national assembly. The only possible road was through the queen's gate; they rallied all the Swiss whom they found dispersed in their way, and as many of the national guard as still retained their fidelity.

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The number of the fugitives might amount to five hundred; but as only one person could pass through the gate at a time, they were exposed to a continual fire from several battalions stationed at about thirty yards distance; and as the red uniform of the Swiss attracted particular notice, the devoted strangers were still the greatest sufferers.

Of the remainder some escaped by the gardens, and others in small parties made good their progress to different parts of the city, where, upon dispersing, they were secreted and saved by the humanity of individuals. It is however with pain that we find ourselves obliged to add, that of this fine and gallant regiment of Swiss, the whole number that survived the massacre did not amount to two hundred. These by a decree of the assembly, were put under the protection of the state.

The defenceless victims who were found in the palace were all involved in one promiscuous massacre. The gentlemen ushers, the pages, those who were in the lowest and most servile offices, were slaughtered without discrimination. Streams of blood defiled the edifice of the Thuilleries from the roof to the foundations. The shocking barbarities which were practiced on the bodies of the Swiss it would be offensive to relate. The massacre was followed by a general pillage of the palace. Some chests indeed, containing papers and assignats, and even some of the royal plate, were taken from the plunderers, and brought into the hall of the national assembly.

The massacre within the palace was the signal for assassination without. The resentment which the resistance of the Swiss had excited was directed to the porters at the coffee-houses and hotels, who go under the general appellation of Swiss, and several of them were murdered. M. Carl, lieutenant-colonel of the foot gendarmerie, was killed in the afternoon on coming out of the Logographic lodge where the royal family were; and M. d'Herminy, a colonel of the gendarmerie, met his fate in the square before the Hotel de Ville.

Of all the victims of popular phrensy on this memorable day, none is more to be deplored than M. Clermont Tonnerre. Our readers must recollect, that no man had rendered more eminent service to the cause of liberty in the commencement of the revolution than this unfortunate gentleman ; and even when he ceased to act with the popular party, his opposition was always respectable and temperate. It would perhaps have been happy for France if the maxims of moderation which this great man inculcated, had been more favourably attended to even in the constituent assembly. He was undoubtedly the friend of liberty, but he thought liberty better secured by not attempting too much. His attachment to limited monarchy had rendered him odious to the populace in the present moment of delusion, and his abilities marked him out to their demagogues for destruction. On the morning of the 10th he found his house surrounded by a mob under the pretence that arms were secreted there ; at the same time he received an order to appear before the committee of his section. While he remained there, his house was searched and his innocence acknowledged. Conscious of the rectitude of his own intentions, he had the imprudence to venture to return through the midst of the mob, whose violence he restrained for a considerable time by the charms of his eloquence and address. A servant whom he had dismissed for some offence is said to have embraced this opportunity to gratify his revenge, by continuing to exasperate the fury of the multitude. It is to be lamented that his vile efforts were too successful.

While these disgraceful scenes were acting, the national assembly proceeded, in its own phrase, "to deliberate." But its deliberations were no longer *free*; they were overawed by a clamorous multitude in the galleries, and by troops of ruffians without, who threatened the lives of those who dared to think, to speak, or to act for themselves.

selves. The stoutest hearts were appalled, and in haste and confusion a series of decrees were drawn up and passed, "declaring the executive power suspended; the authority given by the constitution to Louis XVI. from that moment revoked; and invited the people to meet in primary assemblies, and to form a national convention," which by a subsequent decree was appointed to meet on the 20th of the ensuing month, September. On the following day the ministers appointed by the king were declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation, and a new executive council was appointed, and consisted of M. Roland for the home department; M. Servan for that of war; and M. Claviere for the finance. M. Le Brun was nominated minister of foreign affairs, M. Danton minister of justice, and M. le Monge of the marine.

A decree of accusation was afterwards passed against M. d'Abancourt, the late minister of war, for having dismissed the Swiss guards; and this was soon after followed by another against M. la Porte, the late intendant of the civil list.

Thus in a single day was destroyed, by an armed mob, an edifice which had employed the first abilities in France for three successive years in its erection. The French nation, it must be confessed, have evinced more prompt abilities for destroying than for building up, and the paradoxical appellation of "architects of ruin" could not easily have found a happier application. This policy (if it can deserve the name) is surely neither happy in its design nor in its effects. It is easier to correct and amend, than to produce a fresh creation, out of chaos to establish order by a motion of the magic wand. It is extremely unwise totally to annihilate a system, before another is prepared to substitute in its room. The constitution of 1789 certainly abounded with defects; but it would have been safer gradually to rectify these, than to deliver over the

the nation for an indefinite space of time a pray to anarchy, licentiousness, and disorder.

Of the guilt or innocence of the king, posterity will speak in more decisive terms than we are able at present. If he was really a party to the league of despots which was formed on the ruin of his country, the fact will certainly extenuate, if not justify, the violences of the 10th of August; but in the mean time, the evidence which has hitherto come before us, allows us to charge him with no design more criminal than that which reason and candour must approve, and which there is room to believe was that of Rochefoucault, of La Fayette, and the most distinguished patriots of France; that of removing his person, and those of the members of the legislature, from the degrading insults, the pernicious influence, and the alarming outrages of the Lazzaroni of Paris; and till some such measure shall be adopted, whether the *form* of government be republican or aristocratic, it is but too certain that France will not enjoy the benefits of any government at all, but both her executive and legislative powers must languish under the horrid tyranny of a faction, and that faction will be the most profligate and unprincipled that the whole nation can furnish.

From the example of France, free states may in after ages derive some instructive lessons. Supposing the utmost that the republicans assert to be true; supposing that the treachery of the king had rendered his deposition necessary, and that the assault on the Thuilleries was the laudable effort of a great nation to liberate itself from impending slavery; still the course which that party afterwards pursued was neither wise, patriotic, nor humane. They established their power not by conciliatory measures, but by persecution; not by justice and wisdom, but by assassination and massacre. The insults offered to the fallen monarch were only calculated to render him a more interesting object; the prosecution and execution of

of the inferior agents of royalty could be of no use where royalty was no more, and was only calculated to increase the number of the disaffected party. If it was necessary to abolish monarchy, and to summon a convention, past experience should have dictated the necessity of assembling that convention in another part of the kingdom; and a form of a constitution ought to have been ready to present to that body, as soon as it was prepared to receive it.

Other free states instructed by this example, when they find it necessary to reform their government, will beware of employing the ministry of the populace to effect this difficult undertaking. They will study rather to improve than to overturn; and their decisions will be the result of investigation rather than of impulse; they will be voted not by acclamation, but after serious debate and temperate deliberation. They will provide against the audience being more numerous and more powerful than the legislature itself, and will protect it from the degradation of being influenced by clubs. A reform conducted upon these principles will cease to be that object of terror and abhorrence which French anarchy has rendered the very word itself; and the selfish or the senseless only will clamour against it.

Another caution will be suggested by these proceedings to those who attempt revolutions by illegitimate means. The most active conspirators of the 10th of August have, we believe, already heartily repented of the act. Some of them have since been sacrificed to the very means which they employed themselves; the rest behold themselves supplanted in the favour of the populace by a more vigorous but perhaps more atrocious faction. They have sown, and others have reaped; the guilt and the danger was theirs, but Robespierre and a few of his party have obtained the reward.

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After much deliberation, the hotel of the minister of justice was chosen as the habitation of the fallen monarch and his unfortunate family; but on the representation of M. Manuel, who stated, that in that situation the municipality could not charge themselves with being responsible for the person of the king, and the place of confinement was changed to the Temple.

The phrensy of the populace did not subside for some days after the storming of the palace. It assumed indeed not the formidable aspect of a general insurrection, but it was no less savage and dreadful in its effect. Several atrocious assassinations were committed, and among others the respectable Rochefoucault fell a sacrifice to his attachment to the king and constitution. After having, with the rest of the department, been concerned in the suspension of Petion and Manuel, he found it no longer safe to remain in Paris. He retired to his own estate, but the blood-hounds carefully tracked his steps, and he was scarcely arrived before he was assassinated; his own tenants either aiding in the murder, or at least looking on with criminal stupefaction.

The absurd rage of the democratic mob on the days succeeding the 10th of August, was not confined to the living objects of their resentment; but with a barbarity which has rendered proverbial the northern ravagers of Europe, they demolished every vestige of art which had the remotest relation to monarchy or aristocracy: even the statue of Henry IV. so long the idol of the patriotic party, was broken in pieces, merely because it was the statue of a king. The busts of M. M. Neckar, La Fayette, Mirabeau, and all the leading members of the constitutional party, were also sought out with a ridiculous assiduity, and demolished.

On the night of the 12th the assembly, apprehensive of a formidable opposition from the army of La Fayette, dispatched three commissioners of their own body to counteract

counteract the movements of that general. M. la Fayette, however, by a singular accident, was previously apprised of the events of the 10th. He had sent M. Darblais, one of his staff officers, with dispatches to the war minister. M. Darblais, on the morning of the 11th, had advanced almost within sight of Paris, when he was met by a grenadier of the national guards, who apprised him of his danger, and advised him to change horses and return with all possible speed. At Sedan, on his way back, he found M. la Fayette, who, after stating the facts to the magistrates of that town, advised them, in duty to the king and constitution, to arrest the commissioners, who accordingly, on their arrival there, were seized, and detained in prison from the 14th to the 20th.

In the mean time M. la Fayette returned to the camp; and immediately distributed among the battalions the following letter:

“CITIZEN SOLDIERS,

“It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward: the constitution you swore to maintain is no more; a banditti from Versailles, and a troop of factious men, besieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the national and Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

“General d’Affry, his aids-de-camp, and his whole family, were murdered.

“The king, queen, and all the royal family escaped to the national assembly; the factious ran thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the king, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

“Citizens, you are no longer represented; the national assembly are in a state of slavery; your armies are with-

out leaders; Pétion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus, soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representative to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Pétion for your king."

The general, at the first moments when this communication to the soldiery was made, found their dispositions not unfavourable to the cause of the constitution; but he soon discovered that fidelity was only to be expected from a small circle of friends. Apprehensive therefore that, in the spirit of revolt which his army manifested, his life would be attempted by some assassin, or that he would certainly be delivered up into the hands of his adversaries, on the 19th of August he left the camp in the night, accompanied only by his staff and a few servants. They took the rout of Rochfort in Liege, which, being a neutral country, they hoped to pass un molested; but an Austrian general of the name of Harancourt, being stationed there with an advanced party, arrested the fugitives, contrary to the law of nations; and sent them prisoners to Namur. We are sorry to add, that these unfortunate exiles have ever since been detained the victims of tyranny, and confined in a noisome dungeon, for no other crime, or rather under no other pretext, than that of having been members of the national assembly of France.

The fate of this brave and disinterested patriot is not calculated to exalt our opinions of human nature; on the one hand we behold him abandoned by the people, for whom he had made so many sacrifices; on the other, oppressed by a combination of kings, while his attachment to the cause of monarchy is the source of his calamity. That M. la Fayette is a character without a blemish, would be too bold an assertion to be made of any human being. His error was the error of a young
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and ingenious mind, which, in its ardent zeal for the liberty and happiness of his fellow creatures, did not permit him to distinguish what was practicable from what was merely speculative and visionary. A more temperate and mature judgment would perhaps have led him to oppose that fatal degradation of the executive power, which proved the ruin of authority, of government and order, in France: but in this he was no more guilty than the rest of the constituent assembly; and though in his judgment he may have erred, in his principles we must allow him to have been always consistent. Faithful to his oath, to his king, to his engagements, he was among the first to oppose the seditious designs of the Jacobin club, and among the most distinguished of those who contended for the maintenance of order and civil obedience. To have received with cordiality the illustrious confessor of regulated liberty, would have been noble and magnanimous—To imprison and persecute virtue and valour in distress, was mean and dastardly; but, from Tiberius to the present times, cowardice has been the uniform characteristic of tyranny.

General Arthur Dillon, influenced by the counsel, and perhaps by the character and example of M. la Fayette, seemed at first inclined to imitate his conduct; and by the orders which he published to his army on the 13th, he excited so strong a suspicion against him, that a decree was actually passed for his suspension. He however was so fortunate as to retract in time; and upon the arrival of the commissioners of the assembly at Valenciennes, he found means so completely to conciliate their esteem, that the decree was repealed, and he was again reinstated in his full authority.

The politic Dumourier, who had assumed the command at Maulde, saw from the first the party which it was necessary to embrace, and anticipating the wishes of the assembly, by applauding the new revolution even

before the arrival of the commissioners; by this fortunate step he regained the entire confidence of the republicans, which he had lost by his continuance in the ministry, and in consequence was afterwards appointed to succeed M. la Fayette in his command.

Marshal Luckner took the same decided part. In his letter to the assembly, he even insinuated that it was the treachery of the court which had compelled him to retreat in the midst of victory from the Netherlands; and added, "that now the king was deposed, he hoped he would not be ordered to retire when he next entered the Austrian territories."

Generals Biron, Montelquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, all submitted to the authority of the assembly, and and of the provisional council of state, and took the republican oaths, as well as the soldiers of their respective armies.

Though the force of La Fayette had been trifling in comparison with that of his adversaries, as it did not exceed twenty thousand men, still he had contrived to keep the Austrians and Prussians in check, and they had made but little progress towards the subjugation of France. The confusion, however, which the transactions we have just narrated had produced, encouraged the combined armies to advance, and the first conquest achieved was at Longwy. On the 21st of August, general Clairfait presented himself with an army of sixty thousand men before that fortress. The siege lasted about fifteen hours, during which time the enemy kept up a continual and heavy fire of bombs and artillery. The commandant reported, that the magistrates and citizens, terrified by the bombardment, had insisted upon a surrender, and that he had only complied with their requisition; on the other hand it was suspected, and not without some ground, that nothing less than treachery in a commander could compel a garrison of two thousand
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five hundred men, well appointed, in a place strongly fortified, and defended with seventy-one pieces of cannon, and excellent casements, to surrender upon so short a siege. Upon further enquiry these suspicions were confirmed. M. Lavergne, the governor, was ordered to be tried by a court-martial; and a decree of the assembly was passed, that whenever it should be retaken, the houses of the citizens should be razed to the ground, and the magistrates prosecuted for high treason.

The capture of Verdun almost immediately succeeded that of Longwy. It was summoned by the duke of Brunswick on the 31st of August, nor did the example of the punishment to be inflicted on Longwy deter the inhabitants from becoming the dupes of their apprehensions. As Longwy, therefore, was lost by the treachery of the commander, Verdun was reduced by the cowardice of the citizens. Distrustful of the incivism of the officers after the affair of Longwy, the assembly, by their decree, vested power in the municipality to controul the deliberations of the council of war. M. Beaurepaire, the governor, was desirous of defending the town to the last moment; but the municipal officers were determined in favour of a capitulation, and there was imminent danger that the soldiers would be attacked by an enemy within as well as without. The governor, therefore, after much opposition, finding himself completely outvoted, drew a pistol, and shot himself dead upon the spot. The consequence was, that the garrison capitulated, and the Prussian troops entered on the 2d of September.

Immediately on the deposition of the king, the ambassador of Great Britain was recalled, with, however, an assurance of friendship and neutrality on the part of his court.

Nearly about the same period a decree was passed against M. la Fayette, declaring him guilty of high treason. M. Barnave, M. Alexander Lameth, and some

others of the constituent assembly, were committed to prison, on the charge of a counter-revolution; which however appeared to be founded merely on a vague mention of their names as friends to the king, in some papers which were said to have been found in ransacking the Thuilleries.

The plea in favour of republican government is, that it is a government which is calculated to afford equal protection to all classes of men; that it admits of no oppression, because all have equal rights, and all are interested in the preservation of them. The practice of republicans in all ages has been very inconsistent with these professions; but in no instance has this inconsistency been more glaring than in the republicans of France. Whatever apologies may be urged for the savage fury of an irritated people on such an occasion as the storming of the Bastille or the Thuilleries, there can be none for the blood which streamed from the scaffolds; there can be none for the condemning in a cool and deliberate manner to death, with the forms indeed, but without the substance of justice, upon evidence the most vague and incorrect, honourable men, whose only crime was that of having served the fallen monarch with fidelity. M. Delessart, the friend and confidant of the Neckar, was beheaded at Orleans, on a futile charge that he knew of the convention of Pilnitz for a considerable time before he communicated it to the assembly. M. Dangremont the late paymaster of the king's guards, suffered at Paris on the 1st of September, on evidence equally frivolous. M. la Porte, intendant of the civil list, was executed at the same time, for no other crime than that of distributing money to certain writers in favour of monarchy. M. Durosoy, and some others of less note, were also evidently sacrificed to the temporary delusion and prejudices of the people.

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The assembly lost no time in putting in force with the utmost rigour the projected decrees against the refractory clergy. On the 19th of August, the decree for transporting from the kingdom such of the priests as had not taken the civic oath was revived in the assembly, and passed by acclamation. The distress and misery, which many worthy individuals suffered in consequence of this decree, cannot be sufficiently deplored. Many of these victims of conscience were hurried from their connexions and their friends, and landed almost pennyless and naked on a foreign shore; some were committed to prison, there to remain till a mode of conveyance out of the kingdom should be found; some were massacred by the populace soon after they were arrested: and no inconsiderable number were reserved for the melancholy catastrophe, to which we shall have speedily to advert.

It will remain to the latest ages a monument of British hospitality and British liberality, that several thousands of these unhappy fugitives were received in England, and supported for upwards of twelve-months, by *voluntary subscription*; that all parties joined in the promotion of this truly christian undertaking; that no prejudices, religious or political, could stifle the voice of humanity, or eradicate from the hearts of Britons that generous philanthropy, which has always been characteristic of the nation.

Of the atrocities which we have now to relate, the origin and causes are involved in obscurity. By the one party, they are charged upon a wicked and sanguinary faction; and by the other, that is, the faction to whom they are charged, they are represented as the instantaneous effort of popular resentment. We shall state the facts, as far as they are known, and leave the reader to form his own conclusions.

The capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Prussians, spread an instantaneous alarm through the metropolis,

metropolis; and even the assembly itself partook of the contagion. The rumour was, that the enemy intended to leave the fortified places behind them, and proceed to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunswick was within a few hours march of the capital. At this disastrous moment, suspicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man who from a low origin (with only the advantage of a tolerable education; for he was bred to the law) had raised himself by his abilities and his boldness to the situation of minister of justice, and who certainly projected the plan of dismissing the old municipality on the night of the 9th of August, stood forth in the assembly on this memorable emergency. He observed that there were more than eighty thousand stand of fire arms in Paris, in the hands of private persons: with these he proposed to equip a volunteer army, who, instead of waiting for the approach of the enemy, should sail forth to meet the danger. Six commissioners from the assembly he proposed to send to the sections to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from those horses which were kept for pleasure. The plan was instantly adopted, and a decree was passed, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented by age and infirmities, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by another for the disarming of all suspected persons.

We have had but little occasion, since the termination of the constituent assembly, of which he was a member, to mention M. Robespierre. He had, however, since that period, occupied the station of public accuser, and, at the time of which we are now treating, was at the head of the Jacobin fraternity, and had been chosen, as well as Marat (a Prussian; who existed by writing libels on the government, and by publishing a scandalous Journal)

Journal) a member of the new commune, on the night of the 9th of August. These two men were intimately connected with Danton, the minister of justice; and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful massacre, which we have now to relate, have been ascribed. Since the affair of the 10th of August, Petion had lost part of his influence with the populace, and Robespierre had proportionably risen in their esteem. His sanguinary and unfeeling temper was more suited to their habitual and savage cruelty; and, as he is illiterate himself, his eloquence is of that species which is most adapted to vulgar apprehension. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unremittingly clamorous for the trial of the state prisoners; and by his endeavours to satiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.

Whether from a concerted plan to produce a general massacre, in which it is insinuated many of the members were to be included; or whether it was simply intended to excite the ardour of the people to the defence of the country, is yet undetermined; but certainly the mode pursued by the commune on the 2d of September was pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the city. Instead of ordering the enrolments of volunteers to be made in their respective sections, with order and quietness, they commanded the alarm-guns to be fired at two o'clock; the *tocsin*, or alarm-bell, to be sounded, the country to be proclaimed in danger; and they summoned the populace to meet in the Champ de Mars, whence they pretended they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy.

The alarm-guns were fired, the *tocsin* did sound, but it was not the knell of the Prussians, but of the unhappy prisoners confined in the goals of Paris. The people did assemble, not to defend, but to exterminate their countrymen. It is a debt due to justice, however, to exonerate the citizens in general from the crimes of that day. The majority

majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the alarm which was given, repaired not to the Champ de Mars, as these magistrates of murder and insurrection had wished, but, as it were by instinct, to their respective sections, and there entered their names as the soldiers of liberty.

A considerable multitude, however, was brought together. It was composed (as the Gironde* assert) partly of hired assassins, and men selected for the purpose of producing a tumult and a massacre, partly of the Mar-seillois and the remnant of the other federates, and partly of an immense multitude attracted to the scene of riot by their curiosity or their fears. It is however uncertain, after all that has been said by both parties, whether the massacre was a preconcerted measure, or the spontaneous impulse of a part of the populace. It is not very improbable that some of those, who had lost friends and relations in the affair of the 10th of August, might be sufficiently exasperated against the state prisoners (whom they considered as the authors of their misfortunes) to make the horrid proposal. Be this as it may, we can only report, that the resolutions of the assembly were scarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, "that they were ready to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to march against their foreign enemies; but they must first purge the nation of its domestic foes." Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of the non-juring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there,

* The more moderate party, including Petion, Brissot, Gensonne, Vergniaud; they derived their appellation from the department of Gironde, the deputies of which were among the leaders of the party. The opposite faction was called the Mountain, from its occupying the high seats in the hall of the convention: Robespierre, Danton, Marat, &c. may be considered as the leaders.

in cold blood; the remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless and probably innocent men.

From the Carmes they proceeded to the Abbey prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation on the 10th of August. The murderers proceeded with a kind of method in their crimes. They impannelled a jury, nine of whom it is said were Italians, or assassins from Avignon, and the other three French. Before these self-constituted judges the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination. The watch-word that pronounced the culprit guilty was "Il faut le largir" (he must be set at liberty) when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of miscreants differently armed, and he was cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced through with innumerable pikes. Some they acquitted; and these were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their respective homes by some of the banditti.

The whole of the staff-officers of the Swiss guards were massacred, except their commander, M. d'Affry. He had been a democrat from the first of the revolution, and, when urged by the queen to assume the command in the Thuilleries on the 10th of August, had voluntarily absented himself. The assassins continued the whole night of the 2d at the Abbey, and the prison of the Chatelet, whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined.

In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidant of the queen. When summoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, she was in bed, and was informed by the person who delivered the message, that it was only intended to remove her to the Abbey. She begged, in return, to remain undisturbed, since to her one prison was as acceptable

able as another. Being informed that she must appear immediately before the tribunal, she dressed in haste, and obeyed the summons. In the course of her interrogation, no crimination against the queen or royal family could be extorted from her, and it is said it was the intention of the judges to acquit her. As she was conducted, however, out of prison, stupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, she received from behind a blow on the head with a sabre, which produced instantly a violent effusion of blood. In this situation she was supported by the arms of two men, who forced her to continue her progress over the dead bodies. As she fainted every moment from loss of blood, like Cæsar she was solicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at last she became so enfeebled, as to be able to proceed no further, her head was severed from her body. The mangled corps was exposed to every kind of indignity, and the head, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the temple and shewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. It was afterwards carried in triumph round the streets of Paris, and particularly to the Palais Royal, where it was recognized, probably without much feeling, by her brutal relations: madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and some other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared.

These dreadful massacres lasted the whole of the 2d and 3d of September. At the Abbey prison one hundred and fifty nine were massacred, exclusive of M. M. d'Angremont, Rosay, and De la Porte, who had been previously beheaded; at the seminary of St. Firmin, ninety-two unfortunate victims suffered; at the Carmes*, one hundred and forty-one; at the Hôtel de la Force, one hundred and sixty-eight; at the Chatelet, two hundred and fourteen; at the Conciergerie, eighty five; at the Bicêtre, one hundred and fifty-three: and at the cloister

* The convent of the Carmélites.

of the Bernardins; seventy-three; in all amounting to the shocking number of one thousand and eighty-five*—including, however, a considerable number of felons, who were imprisoned for forging assignats, and for other crimes. The number of assassins have been variously reported. They were at first supposed to amount to many thousands; but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed two or three hundred. It is evident, however, that the national assembly considered them in a formidable view, or they would have taken some more effective measures than that of sending commissioners, from time to time, to dissuade them from their violence.

It is probable that the number would at first be greatly exaggerated by report, and that the multitude who followed, from curiosity or the hope of plunder, greatly exceeded those who were actually engaged in the murder.

The friends of Petion assert, that he took every method to prevent the perpetration of these misdeeds, but that he spoke in vain, while the minister of justice remained silent. M. Roland wrote repeatedly to M. Santerre; and the national guards were already in their sections; waiting the orders of the commander in chief to disperse the mob; but there is too much reason to suppose Santerre an accomplice in the plot; if there was one, since he took no measures to prevent these atrocities.

It was in vain that the deputies dispatched by the assembly exhorted the populace. M. Montmorin, the late mayor of Fontainebleau, though he had been acquitted by a jury, was murdered in the sight of the deputies. During this period of general confusion and horror, several miscreants availed themselves of the circumstance, to gratify their private animosity, and some individuals were assassinated in different parts of the city.

* There were also some murders committed at the Salpêtrière, and on the Pont-au-Change.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated in other places, particularly at Versailles. The prisoners who had been confined at Orleans for state offences, were ordered thither by the national assembly on the 8th of September. The preceding evening a party of assassins proceeded from Paris, most of them in post-chaises, and, as soon as the prisoners arrived, massacred them on the spot. The inhabitants of Versailles stood stupified with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives from Orleans stood passive spectators of the massacre. Thus perished the duke of Brissac, the bishop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons also some prisoners were massacred on the ninth.

The anarchy which succeeded the 10th of August was not soon composed. On the 17th of September, a band of ruffians broke into the *Garde Meuble*, and robbed it of an immense quantity of jewels, and other valuable effects, the greater part of which have never been recovered.

Before we close our account of the proceedings of the national assembly, it is proper to mention a decree which was proposed by a distinguished member, M. Jean Debry.—The substance of this singular proposal was, “To levy immediately a corps of twelve hundred volunteers, whose particular object should be to attack the commanders of the hostile armies, and the kings who were the authors of the war; that these volunteers should be equipped in a manner the best adapted to the purpose, and that on each a pension for life of two thousand livres (100*l.*) per annum, should be settled, with the reversion to their descendants to the third generation.”

The motion was opposed by M. Vergniaud and others, and a kind of previous question moved upon the occasion, viz. to refer the matter to the committee of safety.

The discussion was curious and important—It was observed by the opponents of Jean Debry, that the proposal

posal was unworthy a free and enlightened nation; that assassination was an expedient against which all the generous feelings of humanity revolted; that it might be practised as well in a bad as in a virtuous cause; as well by the tyrant as the most patriotic spirit; that in the present instance it would infallibly produce reprisals; that if a band of tyrannicides should be formed by France, whole brigades would be formed by the enemy, for the purpose of exterminating her commanders.

In reply to these observations it was urged, that of all the calamities that afflict human nature, *war* is most to be deprecated and deplored; that any expedient which could be devised for preventing so great a crime and so dreadful an evil must be laudable. Kings, it was said, are the sole authors of wars; to gratify their caprice, their avarice, or ambition, they in cold blood devote millions to misery and to death; unfeeling cowards, they repose at home in security and luxury, remote from the danger, and feast upon the miseries they have occasioned. Which then is the lesser evil? to devote *one* man to death, or expose whole nations to ruin, to devastation, to wretchedness, to slaughter? The guilt of war lies wholly with the kings; the punishment falls entirely upon their innocent subjects; but let kings once fear for their personal safety, and wars will forever be at an end.

With respect to reprisals, it was allowed, that such a decree would certainly provoke them; but it was urged on the other hand, that the combined kings could not be more exasperated against France than they were already; that whether the decree was passed or not, every means would be employed for the destruction of those who were invested with any authority or command; and that even the duke of Brunswick's manifesto was in substance a decree to that very effect, and breathed exactly a similar spirit of sanguinary vengeance.

The proposal was virtually rejected by agreeing to refer it to the committee.

The

The advances of the combined armies since the 10th of August had been rapid and formidable. On the 30th of that month, general Dumourier called a council at Sedan of all the general officers who were then in that district, M. Dillon having been ordered from Valenciennes in order to assist at it. He explained the distressed state of the French army, and observed, that after taking possession of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether or not they would undertake the siege of Montmedy. The Prussian army amounted to full sixty-five thousand chosen men; Clairfait with sixteen thousand had taken post at Chiers, to the right of the Prussians; and a second column of Austrians, commanded by prince Hohenlohe, advanced to their support, and were followed by the Hessians and emigrants, whose numbers were reported to be extremely formidable.

In this council it was determined, that the French were by much too weak to attempt to face so immense a force, or to prevent it passing the Meuse, which was fordable in sixty-nine places from Verdun to Stenay. In the mean time general Dumourier had dispatched general Galhau with two battalions of infantry to support Verdun; but from what has been lately related, our readers will have anticipated the event, which was, that the attempt proved entirely fruitless.

On the 31st, the Austrians took possession of Stenay after a slight skirmish with the vanguard commanded by general Dillon, which consisted only of six battalions of infantry, and fourteen squadrons of light-horse: the national guard of Stenay retreated and joined general Dillon, who took post at Monzon, close by the army of the commander in chief.

The whole of Dumourier's force at this time was scarcely equal to a single division commanded by general Clairfait, who must have been ignorant of his opponent's weakness

weakness or he would scarcely have neglected to attack him. With this small army, the only resource of the French generals appeared to be, to bury themselves in the thick forest of Argonne. On the third of September Dumourier fell back to Grand Pré; and general Galbaud not being able to throw himself into Verdun, had taken post on the side of Biesme in a strong position.

In this critical situation the genius of the French commander rose superior to circumstances; and so far from being discouraged by the inferior force of his army, he determined still further to weaken it. He saw the importance of the pass in the forest of Argonne on the side of Biesme, where general Galbaud was stationed, and on the 4th dispatched general Dillon with a strong detachment to take possession of it. General Galbaud on the moment of general Dillon's approach had abandoned the pass in utter despair, but on his arrival immediately returned it. On this circumstance the whole fate of the campaign afterwards depended, and the pass of Biesme was the Thermopylæ of France.

The space which, with a force so inconsiderable, was occupied by the French generals Dumourier and Dillon, is supposed to have extended thirty miles; their chief hope rested on the reinforcements which they expected to receive, and their object was to maintain their posts till these succours should arrive. On the 14th of September, the pass at Grand Pré was attacked—A panic seized the whole of Dumourier's army, and he was obliged to retreat towards St. Menchould; the Austrians however in this action lost Prince Charles de Ligne, who was killed with a number of men. On the 17th general Dillon was attacked in his post at Biesme, but the enemy was repulsed, with little loss on the part of the French. The Prussians next advanced towards Chalons, and encamped on the heights of La Lune; but Dumourier in the mean time had received a reinforcement from Pont sur Sambre.

General Bournonville had also raised the camp at Maulde and joined the army with thirteen thousand men, and Kellermann with the southern army likewise soon after arrived.

On the 20th of September the French were first enabled to arrest the victorious progress of their adversaries. On that day, general Kellermann, whose division consisted of not more than sixteen thousand men, was attacked by a body of troops greatly superior both in number and in discipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the skill of their adversaries. The Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussians, attempted repeatedly to surround Kellermann, but Dumourier constantly presented himself and frustrated his manoeuvres. Kellermann sustained the attack for fourteen hours, and retained his post till ten o'clock at night, and then took another more advantageous position to the right of the enemy, who suffered him quietly to make this movement, though it was not completed till the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmness and order which was displayed on this occasion by Kellermann's line. The artillery of the enemy made not the smallest impression upon it, while the German soldiers were only kept to their guns by the discipline of the cane.

On the same day general Dillon was again attacked at Biesme; but having posted, under the cover of the wood, a long file of musketeers to gall their flanks on their approach, the enemy after a smart discharge of their howitzers, which however did not wound a single man, precipitately retreated.

The advantages resulting to the French from the event of this day were incredible. It lessened their apprehensions of the enemy, and gave them a confidence in themselves. It proved to them all the advantages of order and military obedience, and taught them to place some reliance upon their generals, and to resist those disgraceful
panics

panics, which their armies in beginning the campaign had been affected, chiefly by the machinations of traitors.

The French army were, notwithstanding, still in a situation of great delicacy and danger. The Austrians and Prussians were still nearly thrice their number; Clermont and Varennes were both in the hands of the enemy; at Grand Pré the Prussians had established their hospital, and their camp on the heights of La Lupe was impregnable. Thus on three sides, to the east, north, and west, the French were completely inclosed; and to the south the roads were almost impassable. The inclemency of the season and the barrenness of the country saved the army of the republic at this period.

The pass which general Dillon had so fortunately seized, and had occupied ever since, proved an insurmountable obstacle to the duke of Brunswick's penetrating by the nearest route to Paris: and finding it impossible to dislodge the French, he determined to make the circuit of the forest by Varennes and Grand Pré, a circuit of about fifty miles. The length of this march and the great inclemency of the season laid the foundation of that fatal disease, which afterwards proved more destructive than the swords of the French. To complete this misfortune the rivers were so swollen that their supplies were almost entirely stopped, and the combined army was actually without bread for four days, the want of which the soldiers very imprudently endeavoured to supply by the unripe grapes of Champaigne.

Such probably were the circumstances which induced the Duke of Brunswick to propose an armistice, and desire a conference with the French general on the 24th. Various conjectures have been entertained concerning both the motives and the object of this convention. We shall not waste time in examining minutely the grounds of these speculations; let it suffice to say, that there is no evidence to induce us to concur in the report, that the

mistress

mistress or the ministers of the king of Prussia had been bribed by the French; but on the contrary, there is reason to believe that nothing but the duke's conviction of the impossibility of conquering France produced this concession.

It is something singular, that the confederate kings, who professedly made war upon the constitution of 1789, should now (after the loss of so much blood and treasure, after having wantonly disturbed the peace of France, and done irreparable injury to their own subjects) desire only as *their ultimate object the re-establishment of that constitution*. It is a fact scarcely to be credited, that the same duke of Brunswick, who in the month of July prostituted his name by affixing it to the disgraceful manifesto, in which he professed his intention of restoring to the king of France the full exercise of the former functions; in which he pronounced an irrevocable sentence of death upon ALL the members of the national assembly, and other public functionaries acting under the constitution; that in the month of September he should acknowledge the full authority of the French nation to give laws to itself; that he should entreat only for the personal fate of the king; that he should with his own lips request it as a favour, *that any place whatever might be assigned him* (the king) in the new order of things; and that by his confident Manstein he should say to Dumourier—"Make him your king under the strictest limits. Do not content yourselves with tying him up like the king of England—Make him a king of Mahrattas—Make him a stadtholder—Make him the principal *tax-gatherer* of the country—Give him only a place—that is all we ask—and then we shall have a pretext for retiring."

While we feel it our duty to expose the inconsistencies of despotism; while we acknowledge that no part of the conduct of Prussia is to be attributed to a virtuous motive;

motive; while it is evident that the imprudent and criminal conduct of the combined courts proved the destruction of the unfortunate Louis, and that they would not retract only because they were too late made sensible of their folly; still we cannot help regretting that this moderate language, let it proceed from what motive it would, was not attended to by the legislature of France. They were bound by all the most sacred duties to give peace to their bleeding country, and the boon which was required by the king of Prussia was the most moderate that could be asked: if ever so strongly bent upon a republican government, a splendid title without power or without wealth, conferred upon their monarch, could not have injured the real interests of the democracy. Such conduct would have been true policy; by forming an alliance with Prussia, France would have cut the very sinews of the confederacy that had been instituted against her. England would naturally have become a partner in the treaty, and the most excellent consequences for the benefit of mankind might have ensued.

It had indeed a shew of ancient spirit and freedom when the legislature decreed, that they could not treat with an enemy who appeared in arms, till he had evacuated their country. But this was false heroism; it was tinsel and not gold; and these absurd imitations of Roman sentiments and achievements we can easily foresee must prove the ruin of France. True heroism is the result of wisdom, and consults the real happiness of those for whom it is interested. To have endeavoured to save the lives of men, and to lessen the sum of human calamity, to divert the attention of the nation from war and conquest, to the arts of peace, and the useful occupations of agriculture and commerce, would have conferred substantial glory on the representatives of France.

The conferences, therefore, between the generals, from which so much was expected, ended only in the retreat

of the Prussians, who were soon after followed by the armies of Austria and Hesse Cassel. The first post abandoned by the Prussians was the pass of Grand Pré; this was on the 30th of September. On the 1st of October, Clermont was also evacuated; and the Prussians decamped from their strong and fortified position on the heights of La Luné, where the French found upwards of 300 horses half eaten. The retreat of the enemy was slow, encumbered as they were with sick, and wasted with want and fatigue. Their route lay towards Verdun. —It has been insinuated, that more than once general Dumourier might have interrupted their progress, and even possibly might have made prisoners of both the king and the general; and it has, from this circumstance, been furnished, that a secret treaty existed between the generals. It must however be remembered, that the French army was still inferior in number to the enemy, and the general was perhaps impressed with the consideration of how much he must risk by a defeat at this important crisis.

It does not appear that the Prussians in their retreat made any considerable halt at Verdun; and the garrison which they had stationed there, surrendered on capitulation to general Dillon, on the 12th of October. The Prussian commander at this place had some very free conversation with general Dillon, in which he intimated the strong desire that his master had for peace and amity with the French nation; and in a previous conversation between the duke of Brunswick, general Galbaud, commander of the French artillery, and some other officers, the same sentiments were strongly expressed by the duke, who virtually disavowed the whole substance of his manifestoes.

Nothing can more clearly evince the weakness and folly of the court of Berlin, than this vacillation of sentiment. On his first determination to retreat, the king of Prussia reproached in the severest terms the French princes

princes, and the Austrian general Clairfait—He told them, “they had deceived him grossly, and that he would remember it to them to the end of his existence.”

On this variableness and uncertainty of conduct, it is impossible to think with respect. A monarch spontaneously, and without provocation, engaging in a war avowedly on a principle contrary to all that has ever been considered as sacred by the rights of nations—a war on the independence of a neighbouring state; and breathing nothing but denunciations of vengeance and cruelty against that nation: and yet in so short a time avowing sentiments so extremely opposite—Now anxious only for war; next soliciting peace; and afterwards engaging in war again. It is impossible to annex sentiments of respect or approbation to such conduct.

Another serious cause of blame which has been laid to the charge of the king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick, is the cruel distinction which they made in their cartel for the exchange of prisoners between their native soldiers and the emigrants. By the exception of these brave, though perhaps mistaken men, several of them were actually given up to the slaughter; and whatever right the French might have to consider them as rebels, still the king of Prussia had accepted them as *soldiers*, and they were under his protection.

The recapture of Longwy followed that of Verdun on the 22d of October, on which day it was taken possession of by general Valence, though in fact the capitulation was signed on the 18th. The Prussian army immediately evacuated the territories of France; and the country was solemnly proclaimed to be no longer in danger. General Dumourier had for some time been absent from the army; his active mind was occupied with still bolder projects, in the execution of which we shall have speedily to follow him.

The conduct of the Prussians and Austrians, during their invasion of France, was not unexceptionable. The rigid discipline of the cane and the scourge served indeed to restrain within the boundaries of military obedience the wretched and passive instruments of despotism, the human machines; but the plunder of enemies, even though unarmed and defenceless, is, it seems, no infringement of the articles of war. The contributions levied by the duke of Brunswick, upon the credit of notes payable by the king of France, when he should be re-instated in his functions, are sufficiently notorious, and have been characterized by a distinguished orator of the British senate as a species of *swindling*. The harsh treatment of M. George, who had been a member of the constituent assembly, and afterwards engaged in a respectable civil employment, was a pitiful revenge, and the puerile reproaches made him by the Duke of Brunswick, were still more contemptible.

But the unfortunate villagers of Voges were treated with a severity inconsistent utterly with what has been termed civilized war. Though situated on a mountain, and well calculated to form a post of some strength, still its fortifications were in such a state that it would have been folly in the inhabitants to have attempted to resist an army. Having however been greatly harassed by detached marauding parties of the enemy, the villagers resolved to defend their property against such parties in future, though not to resist a regular summons. The next detachment therefore which came in this irregular manner, was very bravely repulled; but immediately returning with a strong reinforcement, the peasants, after a gallant effort, were compelled to submit. *As they were not dressed in the uniform of soldiers*, these brave men were judged to be exempt from the laws of war. They were dragged to the head-quarters, tied to the tails of horses; and before they were carried away, were compelled

compelled to set fire to their dwellings with their own hands, by which much property and several lives were destroyed. A mother threw herself at the feet of the barbarous conquerors, and entreated permission to carry with her her two infants. Her entreaties were disregarded, and the unoffending babes perished in the flames.

Of all these tribes of plunderers, however, none were equal to the Hessians in dexterity, adroitness, or, in the extent of their depredations. These devoted slaves, who are actually sold, like the negroes on the coast of Africa, to the best bidder by their rapacious chief, seemed to carry with them to the war all the dispositions incident to a state of slavery. Plunder was their sole object, nor could any thing deter them on any occasion from the pursuit of it. Wherever they came, like a swarm of locusts, they left a barren wilderness behind them. Every article that could be removed, and that was of the least value, was carried away. Not only the money and plate, but even the clothes and furniture of the inhabitants were purloined. They stripped without mercy the miserable emigrants themselves, and plundered the nobility of France, who served in the combined armies, with as little remorse as those whom they denominated rebels. These poor men indeed saw their error too late, and found themselves equally the prey of those who pretended to arm in their defence, and of those from whose atrocities they fled.

The conduct of the French soldiery was in general much more respectable in this instance; they abstained religiously from plunder, and, as they endured the want of every necessary with fortitude, were cautious of injuring the rights of others. Their political fanaticism, however, sometimes betrayed them into shocking excesses, the most flagrant instance of which occurred at Rhetel in the beginning of October. Two battalions of volunteers being stationed at that place, four deserters from the Prussian army

army came to offer their services, and were received by the officers. In the course of the day, however, some dispute arose between these men and some of the soldiers, when an alarm was instantly spread among the volunteers that they were not Prussians, but emigrants and spies. With that fatal precipitation which in so many recent instances has characterised the French nation, the rest of the soldiers immediately seized these unhappy men, and in defiance of their officers, in defiance of justice and entreaty, cut them to pieces.

General Dumourier on this occasion gave a salutary example of proper severity. He degraded the two battalions, stripped them of their military accoutrements and uniforms, and obliged them to deliver up the immediate delinquents. The battalions, with a returning sense of honour, acknowledged the justice of the sentence; but entreated that instead of being broken they might be sent upon some service of more than ordinary danger, to expiate their crime; and of their own accord delivered up to the sentence of the law ten of their body, who were at once the causes and the agents in this horrid transaction.

The sieges of Thionville and Lisle are conspicuous circumstances in the history of this campaign. The former is a small but strong fortress, and was entrusted to the command of general Felix Wimpfen, whose reply to the summons of the Austrian general was, "You may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another, but you cannot burn the ramparts." It resisted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force which was said to amount to twenty-eight thousand men; and which in several successful sallies the besieged frequently harassed and distressed. The town was relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garrison and commander received all the honours and applause which a grateful country could confer.

The

The city of Lille was threatened early in September, and on the 23d the electors of the department of the north, who were assembled there, transmitted a public act to the legislative body, in which they swear, that "they would be buried under the ruins of the town, rather than abandon their post." As the possession of this city was confirmed by the Austrians as of the utmost importance to their views, no expence was spared to effect its reduction. On the 29th the duke of Saxe-Teschen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna on this important command, summoned the town to surrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. The answer of the council general of the commons was at once modest and spirited: "We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post. We will not perjure ourselves." On that day the Austrian batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed for upwards of a week to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens. The principal motive for this proceeding was evidently, that by distressing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous and seditious, and induced to rise upon the magistrates and commanders, in order to force them into a capitulation. In this the enemy was disappointed; for on the contrary, inspired with a degree of heroism proportioned to their danger, these very citizens caused the keys of the city to be carried into the great square and hung up on the tree of liberty; and at the same time passed a resolution, that whoever presumed to remove them for the purpose of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. This spirited resolution the citizens of Lille supported with (what should always support true patriotism) order and discipline. They formed themselves into several companies, to each of which were assigned its proper functions and station. Every precaution was taken

taken to prevent mischievous effects from the bombardment, and a number of women and children were constantly employed in knocking out the *fuses* to prevent the explosion. The city, however, was soon reduced to a heap of ruins; and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their residence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which were formed into a kind of casemates, by the immensity of rubbish heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almost all destroyed; but the valour, patriotism, and virtue of the inhabitants increased with their distress; and as soon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devastations of the artillery, it was hospitably incorporated with another. To the 6th of October at noon the firing was incessant; shells, red-hot balls, and every instrument of destruction, were showered upon the devoted city. The Princess Christina, sister to the duke of Saxe Teichen, with her whole court, attended to view the brilliant spectacle, and in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conquest. It is even said, that the princess herself applied the match to some of the engines of destruction. As the garrison was too small to waste its force by sallies, nothing of that kind was attempted; but its courage and indefatigable assiduity are beyond encomiums: and marshal Rualt, the commander, deserves to be recorded with every mark of respect.

It is computed that the Austrian batteries fired upwards of thirty thousand red hot balls and six thousand bombs upon the city, exclusive of the fire of one of the finest battering trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithstanding this the loss of lives was not great; so formidable in appearance and so little destruction in reality, is artillery. The whole loss of both garrison and people did not exceed five hundred, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Austrians had flattered themselves with being able to maintain this post; should they have

have succeeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithstanding the retreat of the combined armies: but finding themselves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the 7th and 8th of October they began to break up their camp, and the siege was raised.

The arms of France at this period was victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia had long been regarded as hostile to the revolution. He had been among the first to encourage and assist the emigrants; he had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz; he had arrested the French Ambassador on the frontiers, on pretences allowed afterwards to be groundless; he had increased his armaments in Savoy, and filled the fortrefs of Montmelian with troops, and after the affair of the 10th of August he had held a congress of the foreign ministers, to deliberate on a plan for invading France. That plan was, however, deferred. It was upon these reasons that the national assembly, on the 16th of September, declared war against the king of Sardinia; and about the 20th general Montelquieu entered the territories of Savoy. He describes his march as a "triumph"—He was every where received with joy, and troops flocked to his standard from every part. A deputation from Chambery waited on him almost as soon as he passed the boundary, and on the 21st he proceeded with a detachment to take possession of that city. The municipality waited for him at the gate in their dress of ceremony to deliver up the keys; and testified, in warm terms, the esteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the Hotel de Ville he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them all to an entertainment he had provided for the purpose. As a mark of confidence, he left the Hotel de Ville in the custody of their own town guards, a circumstance which was received with every expression of satisfaction by the citizens; after this the whole country of Savoy submitted without resistance.

With

With another body of troops general Anselm (who had been bred an ecclesiastic, but quitted the profession for that of arms) crossed the Var, and on the 29th of September, being supported by admiral Truguet with nine sail of the line, took possession of Nice, which was evacuated by the Piedmontese garrison on the appearance of the French. With the city of Nice, the fortrefs of Montalban, and Villa Franca, and indeed the whole country of Nice, submitted to the conquerors. General Anselm on his first arrival was extremely popular among the Piedmontese, and they appeared disposed in every respect cordially to unite with the French republic.

Whether from the imprudence of the general, however, or for want of discipline in the soldiers it is not easy to determine, but the grossest excesses were soon after committed; the French name was disgraced, and the nation rendered odious, in that quarter. The consequence was that general Anselm was dismissed from his command, and afterwards committed to prison.

An instance of severity in admiral Truguet, which was indeed justified, in some degree, by the laws of war, and by a gross provocation, contributed also to injure the popularity of the French in the territory of Sardinia. On the 23d of October the admiral arrived in the harbour of Onaghia; and having prepared a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to a union with the French nation; he sent it by captain Duchayla under a flag of truce, to be presented to the magistrates. The admiral followed the boat, which proceeded with the flag of truce alone, and ordered the other vessels to keep studiously at a distance from the shore. The people, at first, appeared to receive the boat with demonstrations of friendship; but at the moment captain Duchayla was preparing to address them at a small distance, they assailed it with a shower of musketry, by which the aid de camp of marshal Lahouliere, who accompanied captain Duchayla,

chayla, two midshipmen, and four seamen were killed, and the captain himself, and adjutant general Lacouverfiene, wounded.

The magistrates affected to exculpate themselves; but their apology not proving satisfactory to the admiral, he prepared to take an ample and indeed a cruel revenge. As soon as the boat was out of danger, he ordered his squadron to drop their anchors and cannonade the town. At the same time it was attacked by land by marshal Lahouliere, and, being taken by storm, was surrendered to a general plunder, and afterwards set on fire in different places.

To conclude our narrative of the operations of the southern armies, it will be necessary to revert to general Montesquieu, and to relate his transactions with the republic of Geneva. The conquest of Savoy by the French spread an instant alarm over the neighbouring states, and the aristocratic faction in Geneva in particular felt no inconsiderable portion of uneasiness. From the other Swiss cantons this party demanded a garrison of one thousand six hundred men, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears some reason to suspect that the executive council of France were not indisposed to take possession of this flourishing republic; and, with or without reason (for the affair has never been satisfactorily explained) pretended to be offended by the admission of the Swiss garrison. Montesquieu, by their orders, presented himself before the city. The aristocracy became immediately alarmed; they extended their olive branch to the French general, and the dispute was terminated with apparent equity, on the one side, by the dismissal of the Swiss garrison, and on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic.

The

The democratic party in Paris could not easily forgive this concession in their general. Montesquieu was suspected, and even accused of having received a bribe; and soon after various charges of peculation being exhibited against him, to save himself from destruction, or at least from the humiliation and risk of a trial, he left the army and escaped into Switzerland.

The conquests of Custine in the circle of the Upper Rhine were not less brilliant than those of his colleagues. It was with considerable difficulty, from the badness of the roads, and the quantity of rain, that he could collect his army at Landau by the 29th of September. On that morning, however, he proceeded towards Spire, which he reached on the following day. He found the Austrians drawn up in order of battle before Spire, having on their right an eminence, which is above the gate that looks towards Worms, a ravine before them, and their left extended among some gardens surrounded with thick hedges. In this position the general did not hesitate to attack them, and soon forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. Having tried for a short time to force the gates with cannon, and perceiving the ardour of his troops, general Custine proposed to cut them down with axes, and the proposal was eagerly received by the soldiers. The gates were speedily demolished, and the French rushed into the town with their usual impetuosity; but the enemy, who had taken possession of all the adjacent houses, commenced a heavy and destructive fire upon them, almost as soon as they entered. Fortunately general Custine had taken the precaution to place at the head of the columns some howitzers and eight pounders, which enabled him to rally his troops, who were in some degree disordered at first by the violence of the discharge of musquetry from the houses. The Austrians had, however, apparently no intention of maintaining their ground; they immediately
retreated

retreated, and left Custine master of the city. The French on this occasion took upwards of three thousand prisoners, besides a great quantity of cannon, howitzers, &c.

The capture of Worms by M. Neuvigner, with a detachment from Custine's army, immediately succeeded that of Spire, and the movements of the French were so rapid, that the enemy had not found it possible to remove their stores; an immense quantity therefore of every kind was found in this place. M. Custine laid the bishop, the chapter, and the magistrates, under a heavy contribution; the loss of the Austrians in men was also considerable.

On the 19th of October, in the midst of heavy rain, general Custine by forced marches arrived before Mentz. The state of the fortresses was previously well known to him; and the garrison amounted to about six thousand men. On the 20th he summoned the governor to surrender, who answered that he meant to defend the town, but requested till the 21st to consider. In the mean time the garrison never ceased their fire; but to end it, M. Custine again wrote to the governor; a capitulation was agreed upon, the chief article of which was, that the garrison should not serve in the war for the space of one year; and on the 21st the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Frankfort fell into the hands of this victorious commander on the 45th of October. In consequence of the protection and assistance which this city had granted to the emigrants, M. Custine thought proper to impose on the magistrates a fine of one million five hundred thousand florins; but on their representation he was afterwards induced to remit the five hundred thousand.

The successive capture of three places, of such considerable strength and importance, in so short a space of time, is almost without example in the history of military

affairs. The enlarged and ardent ambition of the general would have penetrated to Coblentz, that noted receptacle of the enemies of French liberty: in this daring project, he complained that he had been disappointed by the tardy inactivity of Kellarmann. He wished that general to pass the Sarre and the Moselle, directly to Treves and Coblentz, and to leave a small party to watch the motions of the Prussians in their retreat. Kellermann however vindicated himself by stating, that after Dumourier left him, he had no more than fifteen thousand men under his command, and Valence not more than fourteen thousand: the Prussians amounted to upwards of fifty-five thousand men, and consequently he was neither able to penetrate such a body, nor did he think it safe to leave the French territory again open to their incursions.

The general, disappointed in his favourite measure, still proceeded to extend his conquests in the dominions of the prince of Hesse. By the union of the Prussians with the Hessians and Austrians, however, a check was put to his career before the termination of the campaign. On the 2d of December the Prussians appeared before Frankfort, the gates of which was treacherously opened to them by some of the populace. Most of the French garrison, to the amount of one thousand three hundred, were massacred, and several who had been taken prisoners, were sent the next day to Mentz with their hands cut off; this diabolical action was committed by the Hessians in the disguise of peasants. After the surrender of the city, a smart action took place between the two armies, in which that of the Prussians amounted to fifty thousand and Custine's to only twenty-three thousand. The French however maintained their ground from one o'clock till three, when they retired to a wood, whence they were able to annoy their adversaries, and to keep them in check.

Perhaps the whole history of mankind scarcely includes a picture so striking, of the surprising effects resulting from the

the enthusiasm of liberty, as the state of France at this moment presented. Actuated by this spirit, the hasty levies of undisciplined peasants were at once converted into regular armies. Battalions, composed chiefly of beardless boys, chased from the field the disciplined legions of Germany and Prussia; and though checked by no military system, no code of war, no regular appointed authority, this principle alone was sufficient to retain them in order and subordination. Even the female sex partook in the general patriotism, and many of them proved equal in courage and conduct to the bravest of ours. Not only the sister of general Anselm, and the two miss Fernigs, who served as aid de camp of general Damourier, but many others of the French women, distinguished themselves by the most heroic exertions; and even the artillery was frequently served by female patriots, who regardless of natural or habitual weakness and imbecility, by their spirit and activity compensated for want of that force and vigour which has hitherto been exclusively attributed to men.

C H A P. IX.

Proceedings of the French legislature—Decree concerning divorces censured—Meeting of the national convention—Its character—Abolition of royalty—Decree relative to the establishment of a republic on the basis of equality—Proposal of Manuel for abolishing religious establishments rejected with contempt—Abolition of the titles of Monsieur and Madame—Dissolution of the tribunals—Incorporation of Savoy with the republic of France—Ill treatment of the generals—Convention divided into factions—Accusation of Robespierre and Marat—Decree against the emigrants—Decree of fraternity—Victorious career of Dumourier—Act at Boslu—Battle of Gemappe—Capture of Mons—Action at Anderlecht—Triumphant entry of Dumourier into Brussels—Reduction of Tournay, Malines, Ghent, Antwerp, Louvain, and Nemur—Invasion of Liege—Action near Tirlemont—Conquest of Liege—Subsequent distresses of the French army.

WHILE the French, as patriots and soldiers, must attract the admiration of the historian, their inability and weakness as legislators cannot fail equally to excite his contempt and surprise. One of the last acts of the legislative assembly calls for the reprobation of every man who has a regard to good morals or social order. It was to legalize adultery, to authorize a community of women, by a law which enabled the ordinary tribunals to pronounce a sentence of divorce between any married couple, not only on mutual agreement, but on the application of either party, alledging simply as a cause, incompatibility of humour or character. The female children were directed by this decree, to be entirely confided to the care of the mother, as well as the males to the age of seven years, when the latter were again to be recommitted to the superintendance of the father: provided only, that by mutual agreement any other arrangement might take place

place with respect to the disposal of the children; or arbitrators might be chosen from the nearest of kin to determine on the subject. The parents were to contribute equally, however, to the maintenance of the children, in proportion to their property, whether under the care of the father or mother. Family arbitrators were to be chosen to direct with respect to the partition of the property, or the alimentary pension to be allowed to the party divorced. Neither of the parties could contract a new marriage for the space of one year.

The confusion, the litigation, the domestic contests and the fatal jealousies that such an arrangement must produce in families, might have been sufficient to deter men of any information or judgment from so pernicious a measure; but these are small evils in comparison with the perversion of the moral principle, which must necessarily ensue, the effeminate, luxurious and profligate habits, that must follow this unrestrained gratification of the animal propensities. Men conversant in history might have known that the law of polygamy has enervated the whole Mussulman empire; has rendered its subjects incapable of virtue or liberty; and that this very law of divorces was the immediate cause which overthrew the republic of Rome.

We have already intimated how inferior this assembly was in character and ability to that which it succeeded. Its characteristic, however, was rather weakness than dishonesty. The majority was undoubtedly composed of men who meant well to their country; but unfortunately by the intrigues of the Jacobins, the influence of the Paris mob, and the activity of the republicans themselves, a small faction of anarchists and levellers became in the end the ruling party. Had the assembly in time taken the decisive step to decree the removal of the king and the legislature from the factious metropolis, they might still have continued their labours with profit to their country,

country, and honour to themselves. After the fatal 10th of August, the legislature acted entirely under the controul of the populace. The galleries, and not the benches, decided every question, Vaublanc, Dumas, and all those who united integrity with respectability of character and coolness of understanding, were silenced or expelled, and the suspension of the king was followed by a suspension of the whole collective wisdom of the nation.

On the 20th of September, the Convention met; but, if there was reason to complain that the legislative assembly was inferior in respectability to their predecessors, it was with grief and apprehension that men of sense and reflection observed the national convention composed of the refuse of both. Petion, Robespierre, and a few of the most violent and least respectable of the constituent assembly, were re-chosen on this occasion; and Danton, Chabot, Merlin, and others equally without property, rank, or character, were selected from the present legislature. Foreigners were invited to become representatives of France, and unfortunately they were invited, not for the extent of their abilities, not for the reputation of integrity, but because they had been foremost in the career of republicanism, and because they had disclaimed every title to moderation or judgment in their opinions on the science of government. The celebrated Thomas Paine was invited from England to represent one department; and a Prussian of the name of Cloots, a wretched maniac, whom the humanity of this country would have charitably provided with medical aid in the cells of Bethlehem, was chosen to represent another. The department of Paris was, however, first in infamy upon this as upon every other occasion. There the prostituted duke of Orleans (now distinguished by the almost ludicrous title of Egalité) was united with the infamous incendiary and assassin Marat, with the painter David, and with Legendre, who is literally by profession a butcher. Actors, news-writers,

writers, and men from almost the lowest ranks and stations, were mingled with the degraded remnants of the *ci-devant* noblesse, and with such of the clergy as had sufficient laxity of principle to disavow their engagements with the head of their church. Justice obliges us to confess, that this heterogeneous mass included some men respectable for their talents, and some unimpeached as to their integrity. The brilliancy of Condorcet as a writer, does not however compensate for his evident inexperience and imbecility as a statesman; nor do the metaphysical talents of the abbé Sieyès appear very happily adapted to the practical purposes of political life.

From a body of men thus collected together in a moment of political ferment, but little of wisdom, little of unanimity, little of moderation, could be expected. Their first movements were violent, hasty, and without deliberation; they soon divided into factions, and disgraced the very name of a legislature by altercation, abuse, and even manual contest. At their very meeting M. Petion was elected president; M. Condorcet, vice-president; and M. M. Camus, Vergniaud, Brissot, Lafource, and Rabaud, secretaries.

In order to preserve government and peace, the convention proceeded to declare, "that those laws which were not abrogated, and those powers which have not been suspended, should be provisionally preserved and supported; and that the taxes should be collected as formerly."

This business was scarcely terminated, when M. Collot d'Herbois, who had formerly been an actor, appeared upon the tribune, and reminded the assembly, "that there was one declaration which could not for a moment be deferred—viz. the eternal abolition of royalty in France." It was in vain that M. Bazire and other members intreated the convention to proceed with more dignity and deliberation in so important a question; it was in vain they urged

the necessity of giving it at least the sanction of a discussion.—The abolition of royalty was voted by acclamation, and the house adjourned.

On the following day a series of decrees were passed, confirming this resolution. All public acts were to be dated "The first year of the French republic." The state seal was to bear the inscription of the French republic. All citizens were declared eligible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among the ordinary citizens. The distinction established by the constituent assembly between active and passive citizens, was abolished.

In the course of the succeeding sittings, the convention resolved, "that the French republic no longer acknowledges princes; that therefore the *rentes appanagères* should be also suppressed." The word "republic" was also ordered to be substituted in the oaths and other public acts, in the place of the word "nation."

On the 27th of September, the pensions granted by the constituent assembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to cease, with an exception in favour of those above fifty years of age, whose pensions however were not to exceed one thousand livres (50l.) per annum. On this occasion, M. Manuel rose to propose, that, as royalty was abolished, the order of priests, and all religious establishments, should be abolished along with it. We must report it, to the honour of the convention, that his proposal was heard with murmurs, and rejected with disdain.

The rage of republicanism was however carried at this period to an unexampled excess of folly. With a puerility disgraceful to a nation, the innocent and undiscriminating titles of Monsieur and Madame were relinquished, and the awkward phraseology of "Citizen" substituted in their stead. The crosses of St. Louis, which had been given to the knights of that order, were ordered to be
surrendered

surrendered to the state, not as patriotic donations; but as a restitution. The sudden dissolution of the judicial boards was a more serious measure, and appeared so dangerous and rash to all persons in the least accustomed to order and government, that even Thomas Paine, who by his adversaries has been termed an anarchist in principle, deprecated the hasty adoption of the decree, and intreated that the tribunals might be gradually changed, instead of releasing the nation at once, though for a short period, from the salutary restraints of law.

The conquest of Savoy afforded a temptation which the convention was not possessed of wisdom or fortitude to resist. Contrary to all their former professions of a disinterested zeal for the liberties of mankind, this injudicious and feeble assembly converted it into an eighty-fourth department, and thus by one false step lost the confidence of Europe, and afforded a precedent for future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberty and independence of France. The decree which renounced conquest, and which limited the operations of war to the simple principle of self-defence, was worthy of an enlightened age and an enlightened people, and will be ever recorded to the honour of that body which enacted so just and politic a law. To depart from that principle degraded a free people to the level of despotic states, and was at once the fullest proof of the dishonesty or the weakness of the national convention.

The incapacity of the convention, even to conduct the common business of a nation, was also soon evinced by their ungrateful and unworthy treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might fairly be said, had forfeited their confidence by adopting and avowing principles diametrically opposite to those on which they thought proper to found the new edifice of government. But against Luckner there was no specific charge. Yet Luckner was denounced as an enemy to the

the country; the most atrocious falsehoods were asserted concerning him; and finally, he was dismissed the service. General Dillon had agreed to an armistice with the prince of Hesse, at a crisis when these incompetent legislators (the majority of whom were totally ignorant of the art of war, and could not be acquainted with the particular situation of M. Dillon) chose to believe that he might have made prisoners of the Hessians; for this he was denounced and accused, though he afterwards had sufficient address to procure a reversal of the decree. General Montequieu was one day dismissed from his command, and the next he was reinstated in it. In a word, such was their absurd conduct, that they scarcely left the republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer whom they could trust. Great care ought to be observed in investing an individual with the chief command; but when it is intrusted to him, a considerable share of confidence should always accompany it. No man will risk his life, his happiness, his reputation, without the prospect of a brilliant reward: and if, after the most meritorious services, a military character is to experience nothing but ingratitude and detraction, his views will soon be turned in an opposite direction to patriotism; they will soon be directed to self-preservation and private emolument, and he will think rather of securing a comfortable retreat than of exposing himself in a contest where he has every thing to loose and nothing to gain.

The convention was scarcely assembled, when its peace was disturbed by the appearance of factions, the most disastrous to the country. On the 26th of September, Laource denounced Robespierre and Marat as aspiring to the dictatorship, and they were at the same time charged, and upon apparently not the worst grounds, with being indirectly at least concerned in the horrid massacres on the 2d and 3d of September. It should be

be mentioned, to the honour of the convention, that a committee was appointed to inquire into the facts relative to the massacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Parisian mob deterred them from prosecuting the enquiry as strict justice demanded.

The minister of justice, Danton, gave in his resignation on being elected a member of the convention.

Roland requested permission to do the same, but retained his office for some time longer, at the request of the convention. The statement of the finances by the minister, Claviere, was clear and able. He recommended œconomy in the different departments, and with an honourable intention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries.

The war minister, Servan, soon after resigned, and was succeeded by Pache.

It would be an abuse of time, to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to register decrees too insignificant to be remembered. Those which were enacted against the emigrants are of more importance. On the 9th of October it was decreed, "That all emigrants taken in arms should be put to death twenty-four hours after they had been declared guilty by a military committee; and that all foreigners, who, since the 14th of July, 1789, had quitted the service of France, and entered into that of the enemy, should be considered as armed emigrants." The severity of this decree, was however exceeded by that of the 12th of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed *reputed* emigrants, or those not immediately engaged in hostilities.

By a further decree of the 27th, those unfortunate emigrants, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the bosom of their country, were ordered to depart in twenty four hours, and the penalty of death was awarded against such as should fail instantly to obey.

Whatever

Whatever apologies may be urged from the peculiar and critical situation of France, in favour of these decrees, they will be scarcely such as completely to satisfy the friends of freedom. The confessors of liberty, like the martyrs of christianity, should be rather prepared to suffer than to commit injustice. They should never permit a *principle* to be violated: and as their only object, their only plea, is the *happiness* of mankind, that happiness should not be invaded in a single instance, if possible, by themselves. The enemies of Gallic liberty had forced a construction upon this conduct which we should be sorry to admit, and have not scrupled to assert, that the property of the emigrants was the bait that seduced the convention to adopt too extensive a definition of the offence. No—Let us rather hope that the decree was the result of hasty resentment and temporary alarm. That a more enlightened legislature will, at a time when this alarm no longer exists, reduce its rigour, and receive with tenderness those inoffensive exiles, whose apprehensions, or whose principles, removed them from their country, but whose offences are merely of a negative nature.

Another decree it is necessary to notice, as it has excited more attention than almost any other proceeding of the national convention, and has perhaps made them more enemies in foreign countries, than any measure which they could have adopted. We allude to the decree of *fraternity* of the 19th of November. The circumstance, in which imprudent resolution originated, was an insurrection in the bailliwick of Darmstadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, at that period at war with the French nation. The people, headed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the district, had declared their wishes to be united to France, and solicited her protection against their former master. To have acceded to the request, would have been acting agreeably

agreeably to the law and practice of nations; but with their usual enthusiasm, and without deliberation, the convention, or rather the galleries, passed by acclamation a decree in the following terms:

“The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals, to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering in the cause of liberty.”

A hasty error is not easily explained, and it was scarcely possible to maintain a shadow of consistency, and yet to explain this decree in such a manner as not to give offence to the neutral powers. The attempts to excuse it, have been, if possible, more awkward and absurd than the decree itself; they serve only to shew that the convention were, in reality, ashamed of their own act, but had not the manliness to extricate themselves from the difficulty by direct repeal.

That almost every government (and despotic governments more especially) *do actually* take advantage of the disquietudes and insurrections of the people in other states, in plain terms do *fraternize* them, is a truth that cannot be denied; but it is only the circumstances of the case that can determine a free state in the adoption of such a measure. A general law upon the subject was, the grossest of absurdities, and was liable to be, as it in fact has been, misconstrued. It was no less than a direction of their own principles, a folly of the most enormous kind; while the French people were suffering from the unjust principles of foreign nations presuming to regulate its *domestic* concerns, to countenance the interference by its own example!

When we censure these proceedings—are we the enemies of Liberty or of France?—No! the cause of Liberty is sacred in our estimation; but we can make a distinction

distinction between the *cause* itself, and the means which have been erroneously employed to promote it: the former is unimpeachable; the latter have been frequently deserving of censure. We wish sincerely, as Britons and as men, to see a *free* government established in France. We execrate the league which has been formed against her independence; in an interested view we regard that independence as essential to the balance of Europe, and as the best barrier to this island against the ambition of continental powers. But we see with regret, in this instance, that it is not the heroism of a people that will save the country; but that wisdom in the council is even more wanted than valour in the field.

Notwithstanding the dissolution of all regular government since the 10th of August, the country of France was in general more tranquil than could be expected in a season of anarchy. Happily the greatest atrocities were confined to the vicinity of the metropolis; we cannot, however, omit mentioning, that in some instances the soldiery conducted themselves in a disorderly and ferocious manner. On the 9th of October the first division of the national Gendarmerie arrived at Cambrai; and they scarcely arrived before they proceeded to the prisons, and set at liberty all who were confined, except Canone d'Hercique, who was charged with a robbery; the second division, however, who arrived on the 10th, beheaded him. The officers of the second battalion of volunteers, who were in garrison in the citadel, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent a communication with the soldiers of the Gendarmerie; but the second lieutenant, Besambre, who was one of the most active in endeavouring to confine them to their duty, fell a victim to their fury. He was accused by his own soldiers to the Gendarmerie, who dragged him along the esplanade, and after stabbing him in several places, cut off his head, as well as that of captain Le Gros, of the sixth squadron of cavalry. A
general

general insurrection immediately succeeded, nor was it quelled without the most strenuous exertions, in the course of which the patriotic mayor incurred the most imminent danger.

We turn with some satisfaction from the debates of the convention, and the ferocity of the populace, to the brilliant triumphs of Dumourier, and the humiliation of those despotic powers who were certainly in no small degree authors of the calamities of France. Our pleasure would have been more complete, had these efforts succeeded in securing the real liberties of the nation, and the blessings of a just and equal government. But what the ability of the general and the courage of the people achieved, the folly and wickedness of the convention unfortunately rendered nugatory and abortive.

On the 12th of October, general Dumourier repaired to Paris to concert measures for the winter campaign, and after a stay of only four days, he returned to the army to make the necessary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Austrian Netherlands. From the period when the siege of Lisle was raised, the Austrians had continued to retire before the victorious French. Within their own territories, however, they determined to make a serious stand, and there they began to collect their scattered forces. The first resistance which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Bossu, which is situated about a league from the since celebrated post of Jemappe. At this place the general represents the enemy to have taken an excellent position; but they were unable to withstand the excellence of the French artillery, and the ardour of the French dragoons. The Austrians were in number from eight to ten thousand; and they had one hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred taken prisoners—The French lost only twenty. This action took place on the 4th of November, and the Austrians were so little in expectation of an attack, at that time, that

that the officers had just prepared a very splendid banquet, which the French arrived just in time to take possession of.

From Bossu Dumourier proceeded, early the next morning, towards Mons, and soon came in sight of the enemy, strongly posted on the heights of Jemappe. The right was covered by the village of that name, and by the river, and their left by thick woods. Three rows of fortifications were observed one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, upon which were mounted nearly one hundred pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore trusted to his artillery in this engagement, the advantage of the ground was so infinitely in favour of the enemy, that he must probably have been defeated. Here the enthusiasm of the French character proved an excellent auxiliary to the skill of the general. The army, which was principally composed of young men, had been long ambitious of a close engagement. The general secretly favoured the design, but he restrained their ardour only in the hope of increasing it.

The French passed the night within sight of their adversaries. At seven in the morning of the 6th a heavy cannonade commenced on both sides, and continued till ten without much effect on the part of the French, which confirmed the general in his sentiments with respect to the mode of attack which it would be proper to pursue. As he went along the bottom of the line, the troops testified the utmost impatience to charge the enemy with their bayonets. The general however contented himself with ordering colonel Thuvenot, adjutant general, to attack the village of Carignon (which was necessary, to enable him to assail Jemappe on that side) and at the same time approach the batteries, to produce greater effect.

At noon the French general determined on a close attack. The number of the French who formed for this purpose amounted to thirty thousand, and the Austrians
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are computed at the lowest to have been upwards of twenty four thousand, three thousand of which were cavalry. The right wing of the French, consisting of the van guard, was commanded by generals Bournonville and Daupierre: and the centre by generals Egalité, Stetenboffe, Desporets, and Drouet. The infantry formed almost instantaneously, and the general presenting himself in the front of the line, the music, by a signal previously appointed, began to play the celebrated Marseillois song. The soldiers, thus encouraged, rushed impetuously on with shouts of "Vive la nation!" and joined in the chorus of their favourite tune. The first line of the redoubts was instantly carried. The cavalry of the enemy however advanced at this crisis, with a view of flanking the French, the general dispatched young Egalité to repel this attack, and supported him most opportunely by a detachment of chasseurs and hussars. At the same moment some disorder appeared in Bournonville's cavalry, general Dumourier rallied them himself, and in the mean time the left wing, which consisted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, had obtained possession of Gemappe, and the centre carried the second line of the redoubts.

After a short resistance on the heights, the enemy, at about two o'clock, retreated with the utmost precipitation and disorder to Mons. The French in this engagement experienced the most obstinate resistance from the Hungarians, through whose ranks they could only force their way by cutting down their opponents. The loss of both parties in this action has been differently estimated. It must have been great, for there has seldom been a field more obstinately contested; that of the Austrians must have exceeded the loss of the French, since an enemy who flies in an early part of the day always suffers considerably; but Dumourier probably over-rated their loss in killed and wounded when he stated it at four thousand, as he estimates his own at only nine hundred; and the loss must have been more equal.

The business of this day served to inspire the Austrians with the same respectable opinion of French valour, which was entertained previously and acknowledged by the duke of Brunswick. Some signal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalité acquired much reputation; and such was the enthusiasm of all ranks, that Baptiste, Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons, and two battalions of national guards, who had been repulsed.

The victory of Gemappe was decisive as to the fate of the Netherlands. The general instantly summoned the city of Mons, which on the succeeding morning surrendered, and was taken possession of by general Bourmonville. From Mons Dumourier proceeded to Brussels, which he entered on the 14th of November. On the heights of Anderlecht, adjoining to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about ten thousand men, commanded by the prince of Wirtemberg, affected to make a stand, but it was probably only intended to favour the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Brussels. After a contest of six hours, in the course of which, the French general asserts, an immense number of the enemy were killed, the Austrians followed their main army, and the general entered Brussels in triumph. The moderation and wisdom of Dumourier was equal in every respect to his military excellence. He informed the citizens, that it was his intention carefully to abstain from interfering in the internal government of the country. A provisional legislative assembly was chosen, among whom were the duc d'Urzel, baron Walkiers, and other distinguished patriots. It would have been happy for France, as well as the Netherlands, if the same system of moderation had continued to prevail.

It is a singular fact that general Dumourier had promised the French ministry that he would keep his
 Christmas

Christmas at Brussels. This assertion which was really founded on an actual knowledge of the state of the enemy, but was at the moment regarded as the extravagant boast of a vain-glorious man, was more than realized, for he anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks.

While these affairs were transacting, Tournay, Malines, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a faint resistance by the Austrian general Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Ostend was entered by the French fleet on the 15th of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur resisted for a short time, but the former capitulated on the 28th of November to General Miranda, and the latter on the 2d of December to general Valence; in a word, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, Luxemburg only excepted, were subjected to the victorious arms of France before the conclusion of the year.

On the 18th of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Teschen, conveying a proposal on the part of general Clairfait for a suspension of arms during the remainder of the winter season. To have acceded to this proposal, and to have disbanded a part of his army, and put the rest into winter quarters, would have been wise conduct in the French, and was that which there is reason to think the inclinations of the general would have led him to pursue. He however returned a verbal answer, "that he could only send general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the republic, and in the mean time should continue the operations of the campaign."

As it is probable that the determination of the executive council was in favour of a winter campaign, the active genius of Dumourier lost no time in following up his successes, and pursued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the 21st of November he proceeded with

an advanced guard of five thousand men to Tirlemont where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or four thousand men, on the heights of Cumplich. He attacked with his irresistible artillery this advanced guard, which was reinforced by five thousand men, but undertook nothing. At break of day on the 22d, the whole of the Austrians decamped from Tirlemont, after having lost in this action not less than four hundred of their best troops. General Dumourier halted only one day to Tirlemont, and on the 27th overtook again, almost at the gates of Liege, the rear guard of the imperialists, amounting to twelve thousand men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them successively from six villages, and at last from an entrenchment. The conflict lasted ten hours, in which the Austrians lost their general Staray, an immense train of artillery, and five or six hundred men killed and wounded, besides innumerable prisoners and deserters. On the following day the French general entered Liege.

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man—a career which, as is asserted by the general, was only arrested by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. His first victories, he observes, were scarcely announced, before he was publicly slandered and abused in the convention, by the unprincipled faction of Marat and Robespierre. Under the influence of this party, he supposes the war minister Pache to have acted; and every criminal means, he asserts, was put in practice to distress and harass the gallant soldiers of Liberty. While immense sums were voted by the convention, the army was destitute of every necessary of life. Unprovided of mattresses or coverlets, or even of straw to repose on, these brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to sleep upon the wet ground; and some of them, to avoid the evils which must be consequent from
such

such a situation, actually lashed themselves to the trunks of trees, and slept in a standing position. The soldiers were almost literally naked, without coats, without shoes; and their arms were destroyed for want of cloaks to cover them from the wet. The consequence was, that numbers of them perished, and still greater numbers deserted and returned home. The general's own words are strong—"To retard and crush my successes," says he, "the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction, to whom all our evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than fifteen thousand men were in the hospitals, more than twenty-five thousand deserted through misery and disgust, and upwards of ten thousand horses died of hunger!"

If this statement be just, it will be easy to account for the subsequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French army in Flanders. The other party, however, have not failed to recriminate on the general, and have asserted that he was bribed to betray the cause of the republic—That he entered into secret and criminal treaties with the king of Prussia, in an early stage of the contest, and solely with a view to his own advantage. He made a wanton sacrifice of his own soldiers at Gemapre, by his injudicious disposition of the army on the attack, and afterwards took every means to enrich himself, and injure the public cause. Of these mutual accusations it is impossible to form at present a correct judgment; we can only state, from the testimony of eye witnesses, that the army was most shamefully neglected during the winter campaign; and was certainly, as Dumourier asserts, in want of every necessary.

C H A P. X.

Proceedings of the convention preliminary to the trial of the king—State of parties—Trial and condemnation of Louis XVI;—His execution—Resignation of members and ministers—War with England and Holland—New constitution—War with Spain—Surrender of Breda and Gertruydenburgh—Reverse of fortune to the French—Defeat of Miranda—of Valence—Misfortune at Cagliari—Defeat of Dumourier—His defection—Congress at Antwerp—Insurrection in La Vendee—Defection of Corsica—Banishment of the Bourbons—Abasement of Egalite—Imprisonment of Marat—Intelligence from Dampierre.

WHILE such was their criminal inattention to the armies of the republic, the infatuated convention was amusing itself with a petty and ignoble triumph over their fallen sovereign; and instead of uniting with firmness and patriotism against that combination of despots which threatened the extinction of their liberties, they were only active to dispute, and persevering to oppress.

To understand rightly the origin of the violent proceedings against the deposed monarch, it will be necessary to revert to the state of parties in France at a period anterior to that of which we are now treating. It will be remembered, that we intimated that almost from the first assembling of the national convention, that body was divided by faction, and two virulent parties contended earnestly for the sovereign authority. The party which first assumed the reins of government after the deposition of the king, affected a tone of moderation; and either from principle, policy, compact or engagement, intended, we are disposed to believe, to save the life of the unfortunate monarch. The multitude, on the other hand, is always sanguinary; and whoever contemplates the conduct of the French populace, as displayed in so many fatal instances

instances in the course of this history, will be disposed to acknowledge, that either from a hasty or violent spirit, or from the influence of those habits which were acquired under the old government, they have acted on most occasions with more than usual cruelty. Many circumstances contributed to exasperate this infatuated people against the unhappy king. Though other nations may doubt of his guilt in promoting the design of the counter-revolutionists, no doubt of it was entertained in France. The intemperate revenge of those who had lost near connexions or friends on the fatal 10th of August was not yet satisfied, and a considerable share of the guilt of that day was unjustly thrown upon a single illustrious victim. These passions were industriously cherished by the movers of faction and sedition; they had acquired a decided majority in the Jacobin clubs who governed the nation, and every thing conspired for the promotion of their views. The Gironde, or moderate party, themselves were reduced to a singular dilemma. If the king was innocent, then they, who were the chief authors and actors in the dreadful affair of the 10th of August, must have been guilty of the worst of treasons; if he was not innocent, why should he not receive the reward of his delinquency?

The rage of faction had arisen to an alarming excess in the convention itself. The mountain party, or anarchists as they were called, were charged, as we have already seen, with the horrid massacre of the 2d of September, and the Gironde had repeatedly demanded a severe examination into the origin of these atrocious transactions. The intention of the Gironde in favour of the king were not unknown to their opponents, who were also perfect masters of the public sentiments upon that subject; and therefore the only means that appeared of effecting the destruction of their rivals was to clamour incessantly for the trial and condemnation of the king, as it was evident that in either event they must be finally triumphant: if

the king should be acquitted, the charge of inconsistency must inevitably fix upon those who operated the change in the government; if he should be condemned, the views and engagements of the Gironde party must be frustrated.

Such were, in all probability, the motives and intention of Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and other leaders of the mountain party, in urging the fate of the devoted Louis. It was impossible longer to resist the torrent of popular violence; and in the beginning of October the clamours of Marat, Merlin and other incendiaries, plunged the convention into a series of decrees, the result of which could only be fatal to the king. An extraordinary commission was appointed of twenty-four members, who were authorized to examine and arrange the body of evidence against him. Louis was separated from his family and the whole of the unhappy prisoners in the Temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance. On the 6th of November Valazé, one of the commission of twenty-four, made a report of accusation against the king, the principal articles of which were drawn from an exercise of that power with which the representative body had legally intrusted him. Acts committed anterior to his acceptance of the constitution were adduced as evidence to prove his intentions of violating it, and the precautions which he took on the night preceding the bloody 10th of August, dictated most probably by motives of personal safety only, were construed into premeditated plots to destroy the citizens of Paris.

Some facts, indeed rested upon rather better grounds of evidence. Papers were produced in proof of the king having remitted sums of money to certain emigrants; but they appeared rather the dictates of compassion towards the distressed, than of treachery towards his country. It appeared also from the same papers which had been found in the Tuilleries, that money had been actually distributed

buted to certain journalists and writers in favour of monarchy; but these are the common and surely in most cases the venial practices of courts; and in the instance before us might be considered as the mere dictates of self-defence.

The question, however, which embarrassed most his accusers was, whether the king was not invested by the constitution with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistent with justice, he whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any regal process could be brought to trial. This objection was strangely and most iniquitously over-ruled by the convention, who in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *ex post facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to those "rights of man" which the nation had solemnly proclaimed.

On the 11th of December the ill fated monarch was ordered to the bar of the convention; the act of accusation was read, and the king was summoned, by the president Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. So important a record it would be inconsistent with the fidelity of history to abridge, and we have therefore determined to present to our readers the examination at large. After a short address from the president, the prisoner was permitted to seat himself at the bar, and the examination proceeded:

PRES. "LOUIS, the French nation accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny, in destroying her freedom. You, on the 20th of June 1789, attempted the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the assemblies of their representatives, and expelling them with violence from the place of their sittings. This is proved in the proces verbal entered at the tennis court of Versailles by the members of the constituent assembly. On the 23d of June you wanted to dictate laws to the nation—you surrounded their representatives

tatives with troops—you presented to them two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and ordered them to separate. Your own declarations, and the minutes of the assembly prove these attempts—What have you to answer?”

LOUIS. “No laws were then existing to prevent me from it.”

PRES. “You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris. Your satellites have shed the blood of several of them, and you would not remove this army till the taking of the Bastille, and a general insurrection announced to you that the people were victorious. The speeches you made on the 9th, 12th and 14th of July, to the constituent assembly, shews what were your intentions, and the massacre of the Thuilleries rise in evidence against you—What have you to answer?”

LOUIS. “I was master at that time to order the troops to march; but I never had an intention of shedding blood.”

PRES. “After these events, and in spite of the promises you made on the 15th, in the constituent assembly, and on the 17th in the town house of Paris, you have persisted in your projects against national liberty; you long eluded the decree of the 11th of August, respecting the abolition of personal servitude, the feudal government and tythes. You long refused acknowledging the rights of man; you doubled the number of the life-guards, and called the regiment of Flanders to Versailles: you permitted, the orgies held before your eyes, and the national cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be hoisted, and the nation to be slandered. At last you rendered necessary a fresh insurrection, occasioned the death of several citizens, and did not change your language till after your guards had been defeated, when you renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your observations of the 18th of September,

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in the decrees of the 11th of August, in the minutes of the constituent assembly, in the events of Versailles of the 5th and 6th of October, and in the conversation you had on the same day with a deputation of the constituent assembly, when you told them, You would enlighten yourself with their councils, and never recede from them.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I have made the observations which I thought just on the two first heads. As to the cockade is false; it did not happen in my presence."

PRES. "You took an oath at the federation of the 14th of July, which you did not keep. You soon tried to corrupt the public opinion, with the assistance of Talon, who acted in Paris, and Mirabeau who was to have excited counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I do not know what happened at that time, but the whole is anterior to my acceptance of the constitution."

PRES. "You lavished millions of money to effect this corruption, and you would even use popularity as a means of enslaving the people. These facts are the result of a memorial of Talon, on which you have made your marginal comments in your own hand writing, and of a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which recapulating a conversation he had with Rivarol, he told you, that the millions, which you had been prevailed upon to throw away, had been productive of nothing. For a long time you had meditated on a plan of escape. A memorial was delivered to you on the 28th of February, which pointed out the means for you to effect it; you approved of it by marginal notes.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I felt no greater pleasure than that of relieving the needy—This proves no design."

PRES.

PRE.S. " On the 28th a great number of nobles and military came into your apartments in the castle of the Thuilleries, to favour that escape: you wanted to quit Paris on the 10th of August to go to St. Cloud.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. " This accusation is absurd."

PRE.S. " But the resistance of the citizens made you sensible that their distrust was great; you endeavoured to discard it by communicating to the constituent assembly a letter which you addressed to the agents of the nation near foreign powers, to announce to them, that you had freely accepted the constitutional articles, which had been presented to you; and, notwithstanding, on the 21st you took flight with a false passport. You left behind a protest against the self-same constitutional articles; you ordered the minister to sign none of the acts issued by the national assembly; and you forbade the minister of justice to deliver up the seals of the state. The public money was lavished to ensure the success of this treachery, and the public force was to protect it, under the orders of Bouillé who shortly before had been charged with the massacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote on this head, 'To take care of his popularity, because it would be of service to you.' These facts are proved by the memorial of the 23d of February, with marginal comments in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the 20th of June wholly in your own hand-writing; by your letter of the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and by a note of the letter, in which he gives you an account of the use he made of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres, given by you, and employed partly in tramping the troops who were to escort you.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. " I have no knowledge whatever of the memorial of the 23d of February. As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I appeal to my declaration to
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the commissaries of the constituent assembly at that period."

PRES. "After your detention at Verennes, the exercise of the executive power was, for a moment, suspended in your hands, and you again formed a conspiracy. On the 17th of July the blood of citizens was shed in the Champ de Mars. A letter in your own hand-writing, written in 1790, to La Fayette, to which Mirabeau acceded. The revision began under these cruel auspices; all kinds of corruption was made use of. You have paid for libels, pamphlets, and newspapers, designed to corrupt the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil shew what immense sums have been made use of in these libercide manœuvres.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "What happened on the 17th of July has nothing at all to do with me. I do not know any thing of it."

PRES. "You seemed to accept the constitution on the 14th of September; your speech announced an intention of supporting it, and you were busy in overturning it, even before it was completed. A convention was entered into at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederic-William of Brandenburg, who pledged themselves to re-erect in France the throne of absolute monarchy, and you were silent upon this convention till the moment it was known by all Europe.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I made it known as soon as it came to my knowledge; besides, every thing that refers to this subject concerns the minister."

PRES. "Arles had hoisted the standard of rebellion; you favoured it by sending three civic commissaries, who made it their business, not to repress the counter-revolutionists, but to justify their proceedings.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS.

LOUIS. "The instructions which were given to the commissaries must prove what was their mission; and I knew none of them, when the minister proposed them to me."

PRES. "Avignon, and the county of Venaissin, had been united with France; you caused the decree to be executed; but a month after that time civil war desolated that country. The commissaries you sent thither helped to ravage it—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I do not remember what delay has been caused in the execution of the decree; besides, this occurrence has no personal reference to me—it only concerns those that have been sent, and not those who sent them."

PRES. "Nimes, Montauban, Mende, Jales, felt great shocks during the first days of freedom. You did nothing to stifle those germens of counter-revolution, till the moment when Saillant's conspiracy became manifestly notorious—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I gave, in this respect, all the orders which were proposed to me by the ministers."

PRES. "You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marseillois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I ought to have the pieces referring to this matter, to give a just answer."

PRES. "You gave the southern command to Witgenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April 1792, after he had been recalled: 'A few instants more, and I shall call around the throne of your majesty, thousands of French who are again become worthy of the wishes you have formed for their happiness.'—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "This letter is dated since his recall; he has not been employed since. I do not recollect this letter."

PRES. " You paid your late life guards at Coblentz; the registers of Septeuil attest this; and general orders signed by you prove, that you sent considerable remittances to Bouillé, Rochefort, Vauguyon, Choiteul—Beaupré, Hamilton, and the wife of Polignac—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. " When I first learned that my life-guards assembled beyond the Rhine, I stopped their pay; as to the rest, I do not remember."

PRES. " Your brothers, enemies to the state, caused the emigrants to rally under their banners: they raised regiments, took up loans, and concluded alliances in your name: you did not disclaim them, but at the moment when you were fully certain that you could no longer cross their projects, your intelligence with them by a note written by Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by your two brothers, was conceived in these words:

' I wrote you, but it was by post, and I could say nothing. We are two here, who make but one; one in sentiment, one in principle, one in zeal of serving you. We keep silence: because were we to break it too soon, it would injure you: but we shall speak as soon as we shall be certain of general support, and that moment is near. If we are spoken to on the part of those people, we shall hear nothing; but if on your part we will listen; we shall pursue our road straight; it is therefore desired that you will enable us to say something; do not stand on ceremonies. Be easy about your safety; we only exist to serve you; we are eagerly occupied with this point, and all goes on well; even our enemies feel themselves too much interested in our preservation, to commit an useless crime which would terminate in their destruction. Adieu.'

' L. S. XAVIER and CHARLES PHILIPPE.'

" What have you to answer?"

LOUIS.

LOUIS. "I disowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according to the constitution prescribed me to do, and from the moment they came to my knowledge. Of this note I know nothing."

PRES. "The soldiers of the line, who were to be put on the war establishment, consisted but of one hundred thousand men at the end of December, you therefore neglected to provide for the safety of the state from abroad. Narbonne required a levy of fifty thousand men, but he stopped the recruiting at twenty thousand, in giving assurances that all was ready; yet there was no truth in these assurances. Servan proposed after him to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; it was decreed by the legislative assembly; you refused your sanction.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I had given to the ministers all the orders for expediting the augmentation of the army; in the month of December last, the returns were laid before the assembly. If they deceived themselves, it is not my fault."

PRES. "A flight of patriotism made the citizens repair to Paris from all quarters. You issued a proclamation, tending to stop their march; at the same time our camps were without soldiers. Dumourier, the successor of Servan, declared, that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor provisions, and that the posts were left defenceless. You waited to be urged to a request made to the minister Lajard, when the legislative assembly wished to point out the means of providing for the external safety of the state, by proposing the levy of forty-two battalions. You gave commission to the commanders of the troops to disband the army, to force whole regiments to desert, and to make them pass the Rhine to put them at the disposal of your brothers, and of Leopold of Austria, with whom you had intelligence. This fact is proved by the letter of Toulougeon, governor of Franche Comté!—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS.

LOUIS. "I know nothing of the circumstance; there is not a word of truth in this charge."

PRES. "You charged your deplomatical agents to favour this coalition of foreign powers and your brothers, against France, and especially to cement the peace between Turkey and Austria, and to procure thereby a larger number of troops against France from the latter. A letter of Choiseul-Gouffier, ambassador at Constantinople, verifies the fact.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "M. Choiseul did not speak the truth: no such thing has ever been."

PRES. "The Prussians advanced against our frontiers: your minister was summoned on the 8th of July to give an account of our political relations with Prussia; you answered, on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were marching, and that you gave orders to the legislative body of the formal acts of the pending hostilities, in conformity to the constitution.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "It was only at that period I had knowledge of it: all the correspondence passed with the ministers."

PRES. "You entrusted Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, with the department of war; and such has been the success of your conspiracy, that the posts of Longwy and Verdun were surrendered to the enemy at the moment of their appearance.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I did not know that Dubancourt was M. Calonne's nephew; I have not diverted the posts. I would not have permitted myself such a thing; I know nothing of it, if it has been so."

PRES. "You have destroyed our navy—a vast number of officers belonging to that corps had emigrated, there scarcely remained any to do duty in the harbours; mean while Bertrand was granting passports every day;

and when the legislative body represented to you his criminal conduct on the 8th of March, you answered, that you were satisfied with his services.—What have you to answer?”

LOUIS. “I have done all I could to retain the officers. As to M. Bertrand, since the legislative assembly presented no complaint against him, that might have put him in a state of accusation, I did not think proper to turn him out of office.”

PRES. “You have favoured the maintenance of absolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented troubles and counter-revolutions throughout them, which took place at the same epoch when it was to have been brought about in France, which indicates plainly that your hand laid this plot.—What have you to answer?”

LOUIS. “If there are any of my agents in the colonies, they have not spoken the truth; I had nothing to do with what you have just mentioned.”

PRES. “The interior of the state was convulsed by fanaticks; you avowed yourself their protector, by manifesting your evident intention of recovering by them your ancient power.—What have you to answer?”

LOUIS. “I cannot answer to this; I know nothing of such a project.”

PRES. “The legislative body had passed a decree on the 29th of January, against the factious priests; you suspended its execution.—What have you to answer?”

LOUIS. “The constitution reserved to me the free right to refuse my sanction of the decrees.”

PRES. “The troubles had increased; the minister declared that he knew no means, in the laws extant, to arraign the guilty. The legislative body enacted a fresh decree, which you likewise suspended.—What have you to say to this?”

[LOUIS.

[LOUIS replied in the same manner as in the preceding charge.]

PRES. "The uncitizen-like conduct of the guards whom the constitution had granted you, had rendered it necessary to disband them. The day after, you sent them a letter expressive of your satisfaction, and continued their pay. This fact is proved by the treasurer of the civil list.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I only continued them in pay till fresh ones could be raised, according to the tenor of the decree.

PRES. "You kept near your person the Swiss guards: the constitution forbade you this, and the legislative assembly had expressly ordained their departure.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I have executed all the decrees that have been enacted in this respect."

PRES. "You had private companies at Paris, charged to operate movements useful to your projects of a counter-revolution. Dangremont and Gilles were two of your agents, who had salaries from the civil list. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to raise a company of sixty men, shall be presented to you.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "I have no knowledge whatever of the projects laid to their charge; the idea of a counter-revolution never entered into my mind."

PRES. "You wished to suborn, with considerable sums, several members of the constituent assemblies. Letters from St. Leon and others evince the reality of these deeds.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "Several persons presented themselves with similar decrees, but I have waved them."

PRES. "Who are they that presented you those projects?"

LOUIS. "The plans were so vague that I do not recollect them now."

PRES. "Who are those to whom you gave money?"

LOUIS. "I gave money to nobody."

PRES. "You suffered the French name to be reviled in Germany, Italy, and Spain; since you omitted to demand satisfaction for the bad treatment which the French suffered in those countries.—What have you to answer?"

LOUIS. "The diplomatic correspondence will prove to the contrary; besides, this was a concern of the ministers."

PRES. "You reviewed the Swiss on the 10th of August, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiss were the first who fired upon the citizens."

LOUIS. "I went on that day to review all the troops that were assembled about me; the constituted authorities were with me, the department, the mayor and municipality; I had even invited thither a deputation of the national assembly, and I afterwards repaired into the midst of them with my family."

PRES. "Why did you draw troops to the castle?"

LOUIS. "All the constituted authorities saw that the castle was threatened; and as I was a constituted authority, I had a right to defend myself."

PRES. "Why did you summon the mayor of Paris, in the night between the 9th and 10th of August, to the castle?"

LOUIS. "On account of the reports that were circulated."

PRES. "You have caused the blood of the French to be shed."

LOUIS. "No, fir, not I."

PRES. "You authorized Septeuil to carry on a considerable trade in corn, sugar and coffee at Hamburg. This fact is proved by a letter of Septeuil."

LOUIS. "I know nothing of what you say."

PRES. "Why did you affix a veto on the decree which

which ordained the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men?"

LOUIS. "The constitution left to me the right of refusing my sanction of the decrees; and even from that period I had demanded the assemblage of a camp at Soissons."

PRESIDENT, addressing the Convention. "The questions are done with."—(To LOUIS)—"LOUIS, is there any thing that you wish to add?"

LOUIS. "I request a communication of the charges which I have heard, and of the pieces relating thereto, and the liberty of chusing counsel for my defence."

Valazé, who sat near the bar, presented and read to LOUIS CAPET the pieces, viz. The memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and some others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.

LOUIS. "I disown them."

VALAZE. "Letter of LOUIS CAPET; dated June 29, 1790, settling his connexions with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution."

LOUIS. "I reserve to myself to answer the contents."—(Valazé read the letter.)—"It is only a plan, in which there is no question about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been sent."

VALAZE. "Letter of LOUIS CAPET, of the 22d of April, relative to conversations about the Jacobins about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of LOUIS CAPET."

LOUIS. "I disown it."

VALAZE. "Letter of Laporte, of Thursday morning, March 3d, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of LOUIS CAPET; with March 3d, 1791, implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the Jacobins."

LOUIS. "I disown it."

VALAZE. "Letter of Laporte without date, in his hand-writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of LOUIS CAPET, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men, some papers of great concern which had been deposited with Mirabeau."

LOUIS. "I disown it as well as the rest."

VALAZE. "Plan of a constitution, or the revision of the constitution, signed La Fayette, addressed to LOUIS CAPET, April 9, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing."

LOUIS. "These things have been blotted out by the constitution."

VALAZE. "Do you know this writing?"

LOUIS. "I do not."

VALAZE. "Your marginal comments?"

LOUIS. "I do not."

VALAZE. "Letter of Laporte of the 19th of April, marked in the margin by LOUIS CAPET, April 19, 1791, mentioning a conversation with Rivarol."

LOUIS. "I disown it."

VALAZE. "Letter of Laporte, marked April 16, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the abbé Perigord, André, and Beaumetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake."

LOUIS. "I disown it likewise."

VALAZE. "Letter of Laporte of the 23d of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of LOUIS CAPET; a memorial annexed to it, respecting the means of his gaining popularity."

LOUIS. "I know neither of these pieces."

VALAZE. "Several Pieces without signature, found in the castle of the Thuilleries, in the gap which

was

was shut in the walls of the palace, relating to the expences to gain that popularity."

PRESIDENT. "Previous to an examination on this subject, I wish to ask a preliminary question;—Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in that press?"

LOUIS. "I have no knowledge of it whatever."

VALAZE. "Here is a day-book written by LOUIS CAPET himself, containing the pensions he had granted out of his coffer from 1776, till 1792; in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque."

LOUIS. "This I own, but it consists of charitable donations which I have made."

VALAZE. "Different lists of sums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburgh, on the 9th of July, 1791."

LOUIS. "This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid."

PRESIDENT. "LOUIS, where had you deposited those pieces which you own?"

LOUIS. "With my treasurer."

VALAZE. "Do you know these pension lists of the life guards, the hundred Swits, and the king's guards for 1792?"

LOUIS. "I do not."

VALAZE. "Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are deposited among the records of the department of l'Ardèche."

LOUIS. "I have not the smallest knowledge of them."

VALAZE. Letter of Bouillé, dated Mentz, bearing an account of 993,000 livres received by LOUIS CAPET."

LOUIS. "I disown it."

VALAZE. "An order for payment of 168,000 livres, signed LOUIS, endorsed Le Bonneirs, with a letter and billet of the same.

LOUIS. "I disown it."

VALAZE. "Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac, and to Lavauguyon and Choiseul."

LOUIS. "I disown them as well as the others."

VALAZE. "Here is a note signed by the two brothers of the late king, mentioned in the declaratory act."

LOUIS. "I know nothing of it."

VALAZE. "Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiseul-Gouffier, at Constantinople."

LOUIS. "I have no knowledge of them."

VALAZE. "Here is a letter of the late king to the bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter, of the 16th of April, 1791."

LOUIS. "I disown it."

PRESIDENT. "Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet?"

LOUIS. "I do not."

PRESIDENT. "The seal bears the arms of France."

LOUIS. "Several persons made use of that seal."

VALAZE. "Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles?"

LOUIS. "I do not."

VALAZE. "Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions; a letter of Dufresne St. Leon, which relates to it."

LOUIS. "I know none of these pieces*."

In the course of the debates upon this important trial, the convention agreed to allow counsel to the prisoner.

His

* When the king had answered all the questions, the original papers on which part the accusation was founded were laid on the

His choice fell upon three distinguished advocates, M. M. Tronchet, Lamoignon-Malesherbes*, and Deseze; he

the table. Valazé, taking them up one by one, and reading the title, said, as he presented each to the king, "Louis Capet, la reconnoissezvous?" If the king answered that he knew it, Valazé said, "Louis la reconnoit;" and the president repeated, "La piece est reconnue." If the king disavowed it, they said, "Louis ne la reconnoit pas—La piece n'est pas reconnue."

The king disavowed many of them. When the whole had been investigated in this manner, the president addressing the king, said, "I have no other questions to propose—have you any thing more to add in your defence?" "I desire to have a copy of the accusation," replied the king, "and of the papers on which it is founded. I also desire to have a counsel of my own nomination." Barrere informed him, that his two first requests were already decreed, and that the determination respecting the other would be made known to him in due time. Dr. Moore's Journal, Vol. II.

* Monsieur de Lamoignon-Malesherbes is a man of an amiable and respectable character; of distinguished sense, probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of what is called the Robe in France; he is grandson of the chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Louis the fourteenth.

The present monsieur de Malesherbes distinguished himself towards the end of the reign of Louis XV. by some very eloquent and courageous remonstrances which he drew up when he was first president of the *Cour des Aides*, and for which he was banished.

In the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI. he succeeded monsieur de St. Florentin in the ministry; but afterwards, for reasons which are variously stated, he desired and obtained leave to retire.

This respectable man is seventy-two years of age; his generous offer to be counsel for the king gains him the applause of the public, and forms a contrast greatly in his favour with the cautious conduct of M. Target, which has been condemned by all parties. Even the fishwomen of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers and laurel on the gate of monsieur de Malesherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the house of monsieur Target, in the intention to insult him in a manner peculiar to themselves. Fortunately for him, he was advertised of their intention, and made his escape. Dr. Moore's Journal, Vol. II.

had

had previously applied to M. Target, who excused himself on account of his infirmity. On the 26th of December the king appeared for the last time at the bar of the convention, and M. Deseze read a defence which the counsel had prepared, and which was equally admired for the solidity of the argument and the beauty of the composition. The opinions of the convention themselves appeared shaken and divided; and M. Lanjuinais, one of the members, exhorted them not to confound the characters of judges, jury, and accusers, having already virtually set forth their opinions to the world.

The discussion was fatally closed on the 19th of January. After a sitting of near thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was voted by a small majority of the convention, and several of these differing in opinion from the rest, respecting the time when it should be inflicted; some contending that it should not be put in execution till after the end of the war, while others proposed to take the sense of the people by referring the sentence to the primary assemblies. The conclusion of this unhappy business is too well known to require a minute detail. It was however on the best grounds believed, that the majority of the convention were compelled to this unjust measure by the apprehension of becoming victims to popular fury, since a formidable mob was collected who openly threatened by name a considerable number of the deputies, and declared their intention to murder them if they refused to vote for the death of the king. Every circumstance indeed warrants us in asserting that this decision was more the effect of factious fury than of temperate deliberation, and that the cause of liberty has certainly been impeded by the unprincipled violence of its pretended votaries.

Britons may exult that there was not an Englishman to be found upon this sanguinary list. The only one in the convention, the celebrated Thomas Paine, did not
vote

vote, but sent his opinion to the president; which was, that Louis Capet should be banished to America at the end of the war, and kept a prisoner till that event.

The president having announced that he was about to declare the result of their long and important deliberations, a profound and awful silence ensued, while he declared, that out of seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were for death*, three hundred and nineteen for imprisonment during the war, two for perpetual imprisonment, eight for a suspension of the execution of death till after the expulsion of the Bourbons; twenty-three were not for putting him to death, unless the French territory should be invaded by some foreign power; and one was for death, but with commutation of punishment. The president concluded in a lower and more solemn tone, and taking of his hat, pronounced, "In consequence of this I declare, that the punishment decreed by the national convention against Louis Capet is death." The Spanish court through the medium of its minister made a becoming application to the assembly, previous to the passing of the sentence, in behalf of the deposed sovereign; but the reading of the letter was rejected with equal insolence and imprudence. At this period of the sitting, the king's three confessors were admitted to the bar, and one of them, M. Deseze, addressed the convention:

"Citizens, representatives, the law of the nation and your decrees have entrusted to us the sacred function of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

LETTER FROM LOUIS.

"I owe it to my own honour, I owe it to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty

* In this list, to the shame of human nature, was the name of the base and infamous Egalité.

of a crime of which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence; I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit by these presents to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand, that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sitting.

(Signed)

LOUIS."

M. Defeze then solemnly invoked the assembly in the name of his colleagues, to consider by what a small majority the punishment of death was pronounced against the dethroned monarch. "Do not afflict France," added this eloquent advocate, "by a judgment that will appear terrible to her, when *five* voices only were presumed sufficient to carry it." He appealed to eternal justice, and sacred humanity, to induce the convention to refer their sentence to the tribunal of the people. "You have either forgotten or destroyed," said the celebrated M. Tronchet, "the lenity which the law allows to criminals, of requiring at least *two-thirds* of the voices to constitute a definitive judgment."

A melancholy gloom and awful silence superseded the native gaiety of the French capital during the last days of the life of the deplored Louis, as if some future calamity was prelated to that irritable and factious city; while bodies of armed men patrolled the metropolis, the suppressed sighs and the restrained lamentations announced to the thinking world, that a fair appeal to the people would have granted life at least to him, who had suffered the mortification of descending from the station of an exalted sovereign to that of a degraded citizen.

After passing Sunday in preparations for his approaching change, and taking an eternal and agonizing farewell of his wife and family, the unfortunate Louis, as the clocks of Paris sounded eight on Monday morning, was summoned

moned to his fate. The monarch ascended the scaffold with heroic fortitude, with a firm step, and a countenance void of dismay; and being prevented from addressing the people, he was sent before the tribunal of the Omnipotent, to claim, and probably to receive, that justice which his earthly judges had denied him*. Some of

* The following account of the last moments of this unfortunate monarch is truly interesting. It is extracted from the letters of an English Lady at that time in Paris.

“The French king received the intelligence of his approaching fate without dismay. He displayed far more firmness upon the scaffold than he did upon the throne, and atoned for the weakness and inconsistency of his conduct in life, by the calmness and fortitude of his behaviour in death. The evening before his execution, his family, from whom he had been separated since the commencement of his trial, were conducted to the tower of the Temple, and allowed the sad indulgence of a last interview, unmolested by the presence of the guards. Alas! when imagination pictured the anguish of such an interview, it was not necessary to look back upon the former elevation of the sufferer in order to pity the gloomy transition of his fate! It was not necessary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to suffer death upon the scaffold, was once the first monarch of Europe, and would be led to execution through the streets of his own capital! It was enough to consider this unfortunate person as a man, a husband, a father! Ah, surely, amidst the groans of final separation from those to whom we are bound by the strongest ties of nature and affection! surely when we cling to those we love, in the unutterable pang of a last embrace—in such moments the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of disappointed ambition must be unfeeling amidst the anguish that overwhelms the broken heart. That anguish was not confined to the bosom of the king, the queen, and his sister. The princess, his daughter, has attained that age when perhaps the soul is most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility most exquisite. Even the young prince, who is only in his ninth year, caught the infectious sorrow, and while his eyes were bathed in tears, cried, sobbing, to Santerre, “Ah, laissez moi courir les rues! j’irai aux districts—j’irai a toutes les sections, demander grace pour mon papa*!”

“Oh! let me run through the streets—I will go to the districts—I will go to the sections, and beg for my papa.”

“The

of the members who had been most active in their endeavours to save the king, immediately resigned their seats in the convention, particularly Kerfaint and Manuel.

The

“ The king had sufficient firmness to avoid seeing his family on the morning of his execution. He desired the queen might be told that he was unable to bear the sight of her and his children in those last moments. He took a ring off his finger, which contained some of his own hair, of the queen’s, and of his two children, and desired it might be given to the queen. He called the municipal officers round him, and told them it was his dying request, that Clerj, his valet de chambre, might remain with his son. He then said to Santerre, “ Marchons ; ” and after crossing, with a hurried pace, the inner court of the Temple, he got into the mayor’s carriage, which was waiting, and was attended by his confessor——

“ The calmness which Louis the sixteenth displayed on this great trial of human fortitude, is attributed not only to the support his mind received from religious faith, but also to the hope which it is said he cherished, even till his last moment, that the people, whom he meant to address from the scaffold, would demand that his life might be spared. And his confessor, from motives of compassion, had encouraged him in this hope. After ascending the scaffold with a firm step, twice the unhappy monarch attempted to speak, and twice Santerre prevented him from being heard by ordering the drums to beat immediately. Alas! had he been permitted to speak, poor was his chance of exciting commiseration! Those who pitied his calamities had carefully shunned that fatal spot; and those who most immediately surrounded him, only waited till the stroke was given, in order to dip their pikes and their handkerchiefs in his blood!

Two persons who were on the scaffold assert, that the unhappy monarch finding the hope he had cherished, of awakening the compassion of the people, frustrated by the impossibility of his being heard, as a last resource, declared that he had secrets to reveal of importance to the safety of the state, and desired that he might be led to the national convention. Some of the guards who heard this declaration, said “ Yes, let him go to the convention ! ” —Others said “ No. ” —Had the king been conducted to the convention, it is easy to imagine the effect which would have been produced on the minds of the people, by the sight of their former monarch led through the streets of Paris, with his hands bound, his neck bare, his hair already cut off at the foot of the

§ “ Let us go.

scaffold

The minister Roland also resigned on this occasion, and for this cause; the war minister, Pache was soon after dismissed, and Bournonville succeeded to that department. Soon after the condemnation of the king, M. Pelletier de St. Fargeau, a deputy of the convention, who had voted for his death, was assassinated by a person of the name of Paris, who had formerly been one of the guards

scaffold in preparation for the fatal stroke—with no other covering than his shirt. At that sight the enraged populace would have melted into tenderness, and the Parisian women, among whom were numbers that passed the day in tears of unavailing regret, would have rushed between the monarch and his guards, and have attempted his rescue, even with the risk of life. Santerre, who foresaw these consequences, who perceived the danger of this rising dispute among the guards, called to the executioner to do his office.—Then it was, that despair seized upon the mind of the unfortunate monarch—his countenance assumed a look of horror—twice with agony he repeated, “Je suis perdu! je suis perdu*!” His confessor meantime called to him from the foot of the scaffold, “Louis, fils de St. Louis, montez au ciel †!” and in one moment he was delivered from the evils of mortality.

The executioner held up the bleeding head, and the guards cried “Vive la Republique!” Some dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood—but the greater number, chilled with horror at what had passed, desired the commandant would lead them instantly from the spot. The hair was fold in separate tresses at the foot of the scaffold; and as every incident of this tragedy had been intended to display the strong vicissitudes of human fortune, as if every scene was meant “to point a moral,” the body was conveyed in a cart to the parish church of St. Madelaine, and layed among the bodies of those who had been crushed to death on the Place de Louis XV. when Louis the sixteenth was married, and of those who had fallen before the chateau of the Thuilleries on the 10th of August.

“The grave was filled with quicklime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the surrounding earth, and no trace or vestige remains of that spot to which, shrouded by the doubtful gloom of twilight ancient loyalty might have repaired, and poured a tear, or superstition breathed its ritual for the departed spirit.”

* “I am undone! I am undone!”

† “Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!”

du corps. The convention decreed public honours to the memory of Pelletier; but the assassin, who appeared to be insane, escaped to the country, where he soon after destroyed himself.

Among other misfortunes in which the murder of the king involved the French nation, we must certainly account that of a war with Great Britain. On the first establishment of the revolution, the heart of every Englishman beat in unison with those of the patriots of France. Some imprudent steps of the first assembly lessened the number of its admirers; but notwithstanding the declamations of Mr. Burke, when the French were first invaded by foreign despots, "success to their arms" was resounded from every quarter of this kingdom. The horrid massacres of the 10th of August, and the 2d of September, disgraced the name of liberty, which the predominant faction had assumed; but still, such was the veneration of Britons for even that sacred name, that we are persuaded, had the convention abstained from imbruing their hands *deliberately* in the blood of a fallen and perhaps innocent man, all the arts of ministry would never have led the people of England to countenance a war.

It would be a tedious, and therefore an unwelcome undertaking, to trace minutely and gradually the progress of the dispute between France and England. Without affixing any degree of credit to the reports which have been circulated, that the court of Great Britain had early but secretly acceded to the concert of princes, and the treaty of Pilnitz; we may venture to observe at least, that the British ministry had longed viewed with a jealous eye the progress of the French revolution, and had industriously avoided every thing which might serve to countenance the proceedings even of the constituent assembly. On the contrary, we must do the French nation the justice to confess, that the unanimous voice of that people was clamorous from the first for peace and alliance with

with England. During the stay of general Dumourier at Bruffels, he earnestly, through M. Noelle, then resident in London, solicited an alliance with Great Britain. On what grounds this proposal was rejected, we have as yet no competent information—But whatever was the motive it can never be sufficiently lamented, by the friends of liberty and humanity, that so noble an effort to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to ensure the peace of Europe, and the liberty and happiness of France, proved abortive. Had the negotiation of Dumourier been attended with success, the amiable and unfortunate Louis would probably have now been alive,⁴ and the remains of his family released from that state of humiliation and captivity in which they support a miserable existence. Instead of being involved in a war (to say the least of it, unproductive of any good, with no determinate object for the interest of the nation) Great Britain would have continued to enjoy her commerce and prosperity uninterrupted; and would have been in reality the arbiters of Europe; a situation which will now be necessarily but unworthily occupied by Russia, whose wary and cautious conduct in the war evinces unequivocally a design of profiting by the distresses of those powers who are more forward in the crusade.

Such were, as we think, the injudicious politics of the British ministry; and the absurd conduct of the French convention unhappily accelerated the commencement of hostilities. No sooner had Antwerp yielded to the arms of France, than to conciliate the Belgians the opening of the Scheldt was projected and decreed by the convention; and this measure was immediately converted into a cause of alarm, as a violent infringement of the treaty of Munster in 1648*. The decree of the 16th of November

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* In the third volume, p. 539, of the Political state of Europe, the following fact is produced with a view probably of demonstrating

ber was also complained of, though certainly no intention was indicated by France of invading the territories of Great Britain. A series of little affronts upon the French nation was practised by the English ministry. A bill for forcibly transporting aliens out of the kingdom was introduced into parliament. The ports of Great Britain were shut against the exportation of corn to France, while it was permitted to her enemies. In the end, an insult perhaps unnecessary was offered to the ambassador of the republic, by ordering him, under the authority of the alien bill, at a short notice, out of the kingdom; and to complete the affront, the notice was published in the gazette*.

Good policy in the French council should still have disregarded these affronts, and they should, as well as in the case of Austria, have compelled their opponents to appear altogether in the character of the first aggressors. But this suited not the impetuous disposition and the shallow views of these unfledged statesmen. Intoxicated with

frating the inconsistency of the British ministry in this instance: As impartial historians, it is our business to conceal nothing that falls within our notice, and we therefore give it exactly in the words of the compiler of that publication :

“ A REMARKABLE FACT, from the *Memorien dienende tot Opbeholding*; or, *Memoirs relative to the war between England and Holland*, by the Hon. J. Rendorp, L. L. D. Burgomaster of Amsterdam. Just published.

“ IT appears that Sir Joseph Yorke, when he left the Hague, went to Antwerp, and instigated the inhabitants of that city to petition the emperor to insist on the free navigation of the Scheldt.

“ The people of England will, perhaps, think it some what extraordinary that a British minister should excite the Antwerpers to obtain that as a *natural right* (for such he must doubtless have represented it) the bare apprehension of which has been lately urged as a sufficient reason for involving the nation in extraordinary expences, and bringing upon it all the *calamities of war*.”

* This last measure will probably be long regretted by Englishmen, if there is any truth in the report, that such was the reluctance

with their successes in the Netherlands, deceived probably with respect to the state of parties in England, and inflamed with pride and resentment, on the 1st of February, upon the motion of Brissot, the national convention decreed, among other articles, "That George, king of England, had never ceased since the revolution of the 10th of August 1792, from giving to the French nation proofs of his enmity, and of his attachment to the concert of crowned heads; and that he had drawn into the same league the stadtholder of the United Provinces; that, contrary to the first article of the treaty of 1783, the English ministry had granted protection and succour to the emigrants and others, who have openly appeared in arms against France: that, on the news of the execution of Louis Capet, they were led to commit an outrage against the French republic, by ordering the ambassador of France to quit Great Britain: that the English have stopped divers boats and vessels laden with corn for France, whilst at the same time, contrary to the treaty of 1786, they continue the exportation of it to other foreign countries: that, in order to thwart more efficaciously the commercial transactions of the republic with England, they have by an act of parliament prohibited the circulation of assignats. The convention therefore *declare*, that in consequence of these acts of hostility and aggression, the French republic is at *war with the king of England and the stadtholder of the United Provinces.*"

reluctance of the French nation to break with Great Britain, that while it was in agitation, M. Maret, private secretary to the French minister, arrived in England with full powers to make every concession that might appear reasonable, and even to cede to Britain some of the most valuable colonies of France, should the latter power be disposed to form a treaty of peace and alliance. Unfortunately M. Maret arrived just at the moment of M. Chauvelin's dismissal; and judging it neither safe nor honourable to remain, immediately returned. Overtures of peace have since been made by the French, but were not attended to by the British ministry.

In consequence of these measures, general Dumourier proceeded with a large body of troops to invade Holland, exhorting the Batavians in a violent manifesto to reject the tyrannic aristocracy of the stadtholder and his party, and to become a free republic. The states-general of Holland issued a counter-declaration, in which they combated that of the French commander, and pointed out the fallacy of his assertions and the danger of his designs. The Dutch every where made the most vigorous preparations for defending themselves, and the English cabinet seconded their efforts by an immediate embarkation of troops, to the command of which the duke of York was appointed.

While these transactions were in agitation, the constitutional committee were assiduously employed in framing the plan of the new constitution, for which the nation became every day more clamorous. The constitution was indeed presented to the convention on the 15th of February by M. Condorcet, its reputed author; it was however never confirmed, and is deservedly, in our opinion, committed to oblivion. On the 7th of March, as if the nation was not already sufficiently embarrassed, the convention added one more enemy to the combination against them by declaring war against the king of Spain.

The subjugation of Holland was the first project of general Dumourier; and when the ease with which he effected the conquest of the Netherlands, and the courage displayed by him and his army at the famous battle of Gemappe, were considered, the aristocracy of almost every nation trembled. He justly supposed, that the divisions which the usurpations of power had created in Holland would greatly facilitate his progress; and the easy surrender of Breda and Gertruydenberg encouraged him to boast that he would terminate the conquest by a speedy approach to Amsterdam. A train of circumstances, however soon interrupted his victorious career of Dumourier

rier, and evinced to mankind the uncertainty of military success.

General Miranda, who had besieged the city of Maestricht with great force and vigour, and summoned the governor to surrender, was attacked by Prince Frederic of Brunswick, and defeated with considerable loss. The commissioners of Belgium informed the convention, in a letter from Liege dated March the 3d, that their cantonments on the river Roer, above Aix-la-Chapelle, had been forced by the enemy, and the general Valence had evacuated that city. The Austrians after this divided themselves into three columns two of which marched towards Meastricht, and the siege of that place was immediately raised. The third pursued the advanced guard of the republic, and the absence of several commanding officers was supposed to have greatly facilitated the success of the Prussians in these rencounters, which may be justly considered as the commencement of a new series of misfortunes to France. Such was the consternation which the successes of the enemy occasioned, that general Valence himself informed the commissioners, that if Dumourier did not arrive immediately, he could not answer for the consequence; that the Prussians who passed the Roer had defeated him and relieved Maestricht; that they amounted to near thirty thousand men, a considerable part of which were cavalry, in which his army was remarkably deficient.

Before we review the reverse of fortune which Dumourier experienced in the Netherlands it may be proper to advert to the bombardment of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. The ships under the command of admiral Truguet began to fire upon the town the twenty-fourth of January; but as all the transports with the land forces were not arrived, he ordered the firing to cease on the twenty-ninth. The volunteers, however, being impatient to land, the admiral after using every argument to con-

vince them how dangerous it must be to make an attempt without a sufficient force, at length consented, and gave orders for disembarkation on the 14th of February. Four ships and two bomb-ketches were posted before the town, and nearly the same force was placed between the town and a small mountain defended by batteries: another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and three ships and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all these ships the Themistocles alone did execution; but she was set on fire by a red hot ball, and the captain was wounded in the leg and died four days after. In the night the Themistocles was obliged to retire. The Patriot, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded, some of them in a dangerous manner. The Juno frigate had likewise seven wounded.

The descent was effected under the command of general Casa-Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thousand national volunteers; another descent was to be made at some distance, and a certain signal was agreed upon. The same signal was observed in the island, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a speaking trumpet:—*Citizens, come on shore; we have put to flight the enemy.* The troops however, suspecting the delusion, especially as they could observe with their glasses that the invitation came from persons in the Sardinian uniform. The second descent therefore was countermanded. Casa-Bianca, however, formed a camp at the distance of half a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and some mortars; but the troops were seized with an instantaneous panic, they mistook the word of command, and the patrols fired upon each other; the soldiers imagined themselves too weak in number; and requested to be re-embarked, and some of them without orders began to retire towards
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the shore. In this disagreeable situation the general was compelled to re-enbark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able to save his cannon. When the troops returned on board, Truguet immediately set sail. The *Leopard*, a ship of the line, ran on shore, but the crew were saved. A tartan which ran on shore also, was burned by the Sardinians.

This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune in comparison with the hasty retreat and final defection of Dumourier in the Netherlands. Soon after that general quitted Holland, and assumed in person the command of the disconcerted armies of Valence and Miranda, the forces of the Prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait attacked him with a vigour that astonished him, who had but a few months before driven the same troops out of France, and through the Netherlands into Germany. He saw with mortification and dismay the laurels of Gemappe wither on the plains of Tirlemont.

On the 14th of March, the Imperialists advanced from Tongres towards Tirlemont, by St. Tron, and were attacked by general Dumourier successively on the 10th and the following days. The first attempts were attended with success. The Austrian advanced posts were obliged to retire to St Tron through Tirlemont, which they had already passed. On the 18th a general engagement took place, the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Vanden. The action continued with great obstinacy on both sides, from seven o'clock in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loss in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address, but were overpowered by the superior numbers, and perhaps by the more regular discipline of their enemies. Dumourier himself, in a letter to general Duval, says of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the plain

of Newinghen, and fought the whole day with his right wing and centre. The left wing not only fought ill, but abandoned him and fled beyond Tirlemont. He fortunately withdrew the right wing and centre, skirmishing from the 19th to the 20th; and in the night he took a position on the heights of Cumpitch.

Dumourier addressed another letter to Bournonville, dated the 28th of March, in which he gave an account of the retreat of a part of the army under generals Neuilly and Ferrand, who, by the desertion of a great number of volunteers, were obliged to evacuate the city of Mons during the night. General Marassé, military commander of Antwerp, capitulated, by that method, though not the most honourable, yet indispensably necessary, saved a body of ten thousand men. He added that colonel St. Clair and Theuvenot were attacked without means of defence: that the military convoys were detained at Bruges, that he had dispatched some troops in order to liberate those convoys; and that he had sent forces to garrison St. Omer, Cambrai; and all the places on the line from Dunkirk to Givet. At this period Dumourier described the army as in a state of the utmost disorder, and as not having provisions for more than ten days. He said that the pretended succours of men from the departments of the north consisted only of old men and boys, who, so far from being useful, served only to consume the provisions and increase the confusion. He declared, that if order and discipline were not restored—that if fifty authorities, each more absurd than the other, continued to direct all political and military operations, France would be lost: and he added, that with a small number of brave men he would bury himself under the ruins of his country. He affirmed, that it was impossible for him to stop the progress of the enemy, who, without amusing themselves with sieges, might, with an army of twenty thousand cavalry, lay waste and reduce to ashes all that part of the country

country which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. The French general concluded this melancholy representation with bestowing eulogiums on the clemency and moderation of the Austrians, who, he observed, were entitled to the more praise, as from the examples of cruelty and outrage which the French had exhibited, a very different conduct on their part might have been expected. "I have always affirmed," says he, "and I repeat, that a *republic* can only be founded on virtue, and that *freedom* can be maintained only by order and wisdom."

Such is the outline of the proceedings which preceded the final defection of that celebrated general from the republicans of France, whose conduct he seems rather to have disapproved than their cause. His great and ambitious mind was affected even to desperation, when he had lost the alluring epithet of *deliverer of nations*, by the rashness of the convention and the irregularity of mobs; and it will perhaps long remain a doubt with speculative men, whether Dumourier would not have continued faithful and victorious, if France had seconded his efforts with wisdom and liberality, immediately after the retreat of the duke of Brunwick.

The frequent reproachful addresses to the convention from the general, were at length construed by them into insult and treason. He had been too much accustomed to the stratagems of war and finesse of political transactions, not to be previously informed of the design of the convention to order him a prisoner to their bar. When the commissioners of the northern army therefore came to Tournay with an evident design of founding his intentions, they found him with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, surrounded with deputations from the district of Cambray. The interview was violent. Dumourier expressed himself in terms of invective against the Jacobins. "They will ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell,

Cromwell, or a Monk." The commissioners carried the conversation no farther. They departed, and returned next day, determined to dissemble, in order the better to discover the extent of his views. The general then became more explicit; he said that the convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence—that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the rest," added he, "there still remains a party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my fixed intention—and the convention will not exist three weeks longer." The commissioners asked him by what means he would replace the convention? His answer was, "The means are already formed." They asked him whether he did not wish to have the last constitution? He replied, that it was a foolish one: he expected a better from Condorcet: the first constitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable. When they asked him if he wished to have a king, he replied—"We must have one." He also told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negotiation with the prince of Cobourg for an exchange of prisoners, and for the purpose of withdrawing from Holland those eighteen battalions which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that those negotiations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wished to procure for France, would not change republicans into royalists, he repeated the assertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and observed, that since the battle of Gemappe he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. Duboisson then proposed to communicate to him a plan of counter-revolution: but he said that his own was better.

The attempt to arrest an able general at the head of his army, did not, it must be confessed, argue a superior degree of wisdom, either in the convention or its agents.

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As soon as the special commissioners therefore arrived from Paris for that purpose, and announced to the general their intention, he smiled, and assured them "that he valued his head too much, to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal:" and immediately giving the signal for a body of soldiers who were in waiting, he ordered the minister of war Bournonville (who was sent to supersede him), and the commissioners, immediately to be conveyed to the Austrian head quarters at Mons, as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

Dumourier, however, notwithstanding his splendid talents, appears to have been grossly mistaken with regard to the disposition of his army. They were ready to resent to a man the affront which was so imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; but, when he came to propose to them the restoration of royalty in the person of the prince, and to turn their arms against their country, the prejudices or the patriotism of Frenchmen assumed their wonted influence, and they considered it as their duty to disobey. The general had scarcely advanced as far as Cambrai before he found his army gradually deserting. The artillery was the first corps that forsook him; and they were almost immediately followed by the national guards. M. Dumourier then harangued the troops of the line; but their reply was, "that though they loved him as a man, and venerated him as a general, they could not fight against their country."

Thus defeated in his plan of counter-revolution, and finding that no dependence was to be placed upon the majority of the army, general Dumourier, with two regiments of horse, and accompanied by young Egalité and some other officers, determined to make his escape to the enemy at Mons; where after a dangerous pursuit by part of the army which he lately commanded, and being shot at several times, he at length arrived safe, at
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the head of that small party which still retained their fidelity to their fallen commander.

The conduct of general Dumourier has afforded room for many conjectures, and has excited a variety of suspicions. The democratic party do not scruple to assert, that it was long his intention to betray his country, and that he was actually bribed by the Imperialists. We must confess that these conjectures appear scarcely to be warranted by competent evidence. No traitor would have fought as Dumourier did on the 18th; and had it not been for the imprudent and absurd proceedings of the convention in denouncing him as an enemy to his country, we think there is at least a probability that he would have remained faithful to its cause. The assertions of those who think differently are however strong; and it is not impossible that both motives might have concurred to detach him from the cause of the republic; it is not impossible, that, finding a strong and increasing party against him in Paris, he might be disposed to listen to the advances of the combined powers, and might in these circumstances even accept the wages of corruption.

We should have remarked, that general Dumourier had, previous to his intended march to Paris, established an armistice with the prince de Cobourg; and his highness had issued a most liberal proclamation, which accompanied the address of M. Dumourier, and which assured the French nation, that it was not his intention to interfere at all in the internal government of France, and that no part of his army should even enter the frontier, unless the general should demand a small body to act under him to support his motions; and to co-operate as friends and brothers in arms.

It is much to be regretted, that this liberal and conciliatory address should have been revoked by the congress of general officers, which was held at Antwerp on the 8th of April. The resolution of the congress "to commence
a plan

a plan of active operations against France" is still more deeply to be regretted. The temper manifested by the troops of Dunourier, their obstinate adherence to the republic, should have damped the hopes of those who wish at *this crisis* to force a *monarchy upon* the French nation. A *monarchy* we believe they would shortly have, if left to themselves; for what is termed pure *democracy* is no other than a state of anarchy, and that cannot long endure. It is the odium which the combined powers first excited against monarchy by the league of Pilnitz, and their hostile invasion, that keeps the French united; and, conducted on the present plan, we can see no probable issue of the war, but an immense profusion of blood and treasure, and the confederated powers reduced to a similar state of bankruptcy with France itself, in attempting to subdue it.

Amidst this accumulation of external misfortunes, the country of France was at this period internally agitated by the most formidable insurrections in different parts. A considerable body of royalists assembled on the bank of the Loire, and threatened the reduction of Nantz. In the department of La Vendée, they assumed the denomination of the Christian Army, and were commanded by a person of some note, of the name of Joly. Strong suspicions have been entertained, that the insurgents were secretly assisted by foreign powers.

On the 2d of April, a member of the national convention enumerated several causes of suspicion against the executive council, and cited distinct charges against the minister Bournonville. In the same sitting the commissioners of the convention at Rochelle announced, that the people of Nantz had made a successful sally against the revolted, had killed twelve hundred on the spot, and captured an equal number.

On the same day the popular society of Toulon denounced general Paoli as a supporter of despotism. They
alleged

alleged that the general, in concert with the administrators of the department, had inflicted every kind of hardship upon the patriots, and at the same time favoured the emigrants and the refractory priests. They demanded that his head should fall under the avenging sword of the law. The convention decreed, that general Paoli and the procurer general syndic of the department of Corsica should be ordered to the bar, to give an account of their conduct.

On the following day the assembly received a letter from general Biron, stating, that though the snow lay deep on the ground, the enemy had attacked the camp of Braons on the 28th of March. They were vigorously repulsed; and he added, that the loss must have been considerable, if he might judge from the quantity of blood and of fusils left in the field.

It was the 4th of April before the national convention received the intelligence, that the commissioners whom they had sent to seize Dumourier, and to conduct him a prisoner to Paris, had themselves been arrested by that general and sent to the Austrians. On the receipt of this information, the convention decreed a large reward for bringing Dumourier to Paris dead or alive. They took the speediest measures for securing the peace of Paris, and for defending the frontiers.

The consternation which the defection of Dumourier had created, was in some measure relieved by letters of the 5th of April, from the commissioners of the northern army to the convention, informing them that their country was saved, that the camp of Maulde was disbanded, and that all the troops had forsaken Dumourier.

The commissioners added, that relying on the patriotism and activity of general Dampierre, they had appointed him provisionally commander in chief. Dumourier passed through the camp of the army of the Ardennes, consisting of twenty battalions, troops of the line, and
volunteers,

volunteers, with a park of artillery, which he endeavoured to seduce, but failed in his attempt; and they universally came over to the interest of the convention, after having been exhorted by Becker, aid-du-camp to general Dircmann, to beware of the delusions of their former commander, who only told them they should soon have a king and laws, the better to effect his own ambitious projects.

Our readers will scarcely regret the misfortunes and abasement of the notorious duke of Orleans, better known at present by the prostituted name of Philip Egalité. A decree having passed in the convention for the banishment of all the Bourbons, this shameful monster sent a letter to the president, desiring to know whether he, as a representative of the people, could be included in the decree; when such was the indignation even of this factious assembly, that the affirmative resounded from every part of the hall.

In a dispatch dated April the 10th, the commissioners at Valenciennes informed the convention that the enemy were preparing apparently for the attack of Condé, but that the soldiers who composed the garrison of that place were determined to defend themselves like true republicans—that a spirit of order began to be re-established among the troops, and that they hoped, when the army was convinced respecting the traitorous designs of Dumourier, that their errors would be changed into indignation, and their defeats into victories.

In the mean time the conflict of parties, which was shortly to break out into open outrage, began to agitate the convention, and the violence or the crimes of the notorious Marat at length produced his accusation and imprisonment. He, as president of the Jacobins of Paris, had signed an address, invoking all the popular societies to exert themselves for the expulsion of those “unfaithful members of the convention who betrayed their trust, and who

who did not vote for the death of a tyrant." At ten in the evening, on the 13th of April, the appel nominal on the decree against this insolent assassin commenced, and after a tumultuous sitting of the whole night, the result was announced at seven o'clock in the morning: out of three hundred and thirty-six votes, two hundred and thirty-two were for the decree of accusation. In consequence the decree was pronounced against Marat, and he was committed to the Abbaye prison. After so gross an insult on the principles of justice, and on the peace and liberty of the representative body, it is surprising that a jury could be found abandoned enough to acquit so notorious a delinquent; but he was too great a favourite with the populace to fall by a legal decision in a city where the multitude are sovereigns. He was acquitted by the tribunal; and his return to the convention was a triumphal entry, in which that assembly was disgraced in the same manner as their predecessors on the infamous 20th of June.

Upon the news of the defection of Dumourier, general Kellermann, who commanded the army of the Alps, assembled his troops, and, in the presence of the constituted authorities, addressed them upon that subject. The soldiers universally testified their adherence to the principles of the constitution, and answered the address of their general by swearing by their arms that they would support the republic and liberty.

While these affairs were in agitation, the national convention received a letter from Dampierre, general of all the forces at Valenciennes, dated the 13th of April; in which he says, "The enemy attacked our advanced posts at this place in six different points; they were however repulsed with considerable loss. In the advanced guard, which I commanded, we had much the advantage. I have resumed the camp of Farnars. I cannot bestow too high praises on the courage and ardour of the
soldiers

soldiers. I can assure you that in a little time the army will recover that superiority which it lost only by the treachery of those who commanded it."

Two days after this, the minister at war received another letter from the same general, in which he informed him, "that the advanced guard of the French army behaved with the same bravery as the day before, and that they had repulsed the Austrians, who attacked them very briskly."

One of the general's aides-du-camps confirmed by his personal testimony the bravery of the troops, and observed, that on the 14th they yielded to numbers, but on the 15th they were victorious. He added, that the prince de Cobourg and his officers, by their speeches, letters, and actions, appeared desirous of peace; and intimated further to the convention, that a misunderstanding prevailed among the combined powers.

Such reports are common in the varying circuit of political affairs. Too many interests, however, conspired to render such an event probable. The Austrians are fighting their own battles at a more easy expence than if they were left alone: the king of Prussia, in the easy and negligent manner in which he conducts the war, is only anusing a part of his numerous armies; while at the same time, by the continuance of hostilities on the side of France, the eyes of Europe are diverted from his depredations in Poland. The British ministry know, that on the continuance of the war, they must depend for remaining in office, as war and peace are seldom made in this country by the same administrations: and the empress of Russia, who is really the soul of the whole confederacy, is enjoying in secret the distresses of other powers, who are weakening and exhausting themselves, while she is gaining immense accessions of territory, and contributes neither men nor money to a war in which she invited all Europe to unite.

C H A P. XIX.

Re-organization of the French army—Action near St. Amand—Death of general Dampierre—Rights of man—Revolution of the 31st of May—New constitution—Critique upon it—Spirited attack of Custine on the Prussians—French dislodged from Famars—Action near Arlon—Siege and capture of Mentz—Surrender of Conde and Valenciennes—French dislodged from Cæsar's camp—Siege of Dunkirk—Defeat of the English—Attack on the camp at Maubeuge—Defeat of the combined armies—Successes of the French against the rebels in La Vendée—Disaffection of the southern provinces—Revolt of Lyons, Marseillois, and Toulon—Submission of the Marseillois—Surrender of Toulon to the English—Reduction of Lyons—Assassination of Marat—Removal of the queen to the Conciergerie—Trial and execution of general Custine—Trial and execution of the queen—New calendar—Decree against foreigners—Execution of the Gironde party—Reflections on the present state of France.

THE defection of general Dumourier disappointed, in its consequence, the expectations of Europe. The least result that could be apprehended from so important an event was the entire dissolution of the northern army; but even this effect did not ensue, and in less than a month general Dampierre was enabled to restore to order and discipline the disorganized troops, and to lead them to action, if not to victory.

In a well-contested battle, on the 8th of May, near St. Amand, between the combined armies and the French, Dampierre was mortally wounded, and soon after died. His laurels had not arrived at a sufficient maturity to be assailed by the blasts of envy or of faction, but accompanied him in their full bloom to his grave. The effusion of human blood was the principal event of this action; the Austrians are said to have lost two thousand men, the French nearly the same number, but the loss of the English is yet unknown.

General

General Custine commander of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, informed the convention about this time, that he had been grossly insulted by three of their commissioners, and complained that he was accused respecting a letter which he had written to the Duke of Brunswick. In what manner the general was satisfied we are not informed; but that he was, is evident from his acceptance of the command of the armies of the north, soon after their retreat from the camp of Farnars. The sentiment, however, which he appears to have excited on this occasion proved afterwards fatal to this able and ill-treated officer.

The national convention, on the 10th of May, took possession of their new hall of assembly in the palace of the Thuilleries, and on that day they laid the first stone of the new edifice of the constitution: the transactions of this day may perhaps explain to the thinking world, the temper and sentiments of France with respect to government. On the one hand it was proposed that a social compact should be decreed before the constitution. On the contrary, it was determined that a nation which had proclaimed the rights of man, could have no other social compact than a constitution: the leaders of the Jacobin party contended, that modern legislators ought to act precisely contrary to former precedent; hitherto the art of government had been the art of pillaging, and of subjecting the many for the benefit of the few; and the legislation had been the art of reducing these crimes into a system. They next observed, that politicians, hitherto less anxious to defend liberty than to modify tyranny, have thought but of two means to limit the power of the magistrate—one has been the equilibrium of power, the other the tribunitian authority. The equilibrium of power was termed a chimera; it was argued that we must suppose the absolute nullity and suspension of government, if the rival powers did not necessarily coalesce against the people

people; and the influence of gold and the influence of the crown utterly destroyed this boasted balance. Such were the positions on which the republicans of France grounded the new fabric of their constitution, which we shall presently have occasion to review; but it is necessary previously to advert to the revolution, as it is termed, of the 31st of May, when the Gironde, or moderate party, was precipitated from power by the turbulent faction of Marat.

The Gironde in voting for the death of the king defeated, or a least delayed, the execution of that plot which had been formed by their adversaries for their destruction. But as the majority of that party had voted for a suspension of the punishment, this circumstance was artfully employed by the Jacobins in the hope of equally effecting their purposes; and they soon succeeded in rendering the Gironde completely odious to the populace at least of Paris.

From the moment in which Marat had been committed to the Abbaye, the deliberations of the legislature had been almost entirely consumed in mutual recriminations. The sitting of the 31st of May opened at half past six in the morning, and did not close till ten at night, and notwithstanding a most persuasive discourse from Vergniaux, followed by several conciliatory motions from Barrere, and in spite of the firmness displayed by several other members, Robespierre, Marat, and the deputies of the commune, were finally victorious. A petition was received from the constituted authorities of Paris, demanding "that the members of the commission of twelve, with others to the number of twenty-two, who had been formerly marked out (among whom were Isnard, Guadet, Brissot, Vergniaux, Gensonné, Barbatoux, the minister L^e Brun, and the ex-minister Roland) should be decreed in a state of accusation as enemies to their country." This petition was ordered to be printed. Lanjuinais, and several

several others proclaimed, that their deliberations were not free; and the galleries in return openly menaced those who opposed themselves to what was called the wish of the city of Paris.

A majority of the convention had ordered the committee of twelve to be re-established. The deputies of Paris in a lofty tone, demanded, that it should be again dissolved. They informed the convention, that the sections of Paris had established, on the night preceding, a provisional revolutionary commune. A majority of the convention was disposed not to recognize the municipality thus established; but they at length were compelled not only to the recognition, but also to permit that the assembly, thus nominated, should grant forty sous a day to each of the sans culottes of Paris who should execute its orders, until the general tranquillity should be restored.

After this general federation was decreed for the 10th of August. On the following day (1st of June) the Fauxbourgs of St. Antoine and Marceau, with all the adherents of Marat and Robespierre, were again in motion. The drums beat to arms in every quarter; few persons knew what was transacting, but every man was at his post. At nine o'clock in the evening it was known that another deputation from the municipality was about to repair to the convention, who had adjourned their sittings at five o'clock to eight in the evening. M. Le Brun with M. and Madame Roland were put under arrest, Claviere, the late minister of the finances, concealed himself, but wrote to demand that he might be placed under the protection of the law.

On the 2d of June the convention decreed the arrest of all the members of the committee of twelve, Fonfrede and St. Martin excepted. On the preceding evening the alarm bells were rung. When the respective departments heard of the impeachment of their representatives, a considerable ferment took place, and several bodies of

men threatened to march to Paris, to restore liberty to the insulted convention; but the apparent though fallacious moderation of the predominant party, and the vigour of their measures to repel the common enemy, served in most instances to appease the resentment of the provinces.

The members of the convention ordered under an arrest issued an address to the French people, in which they developé the causes of the late commotions in the assembly and in Paris; and their account is as follows: "A law had been enacted which prescribed the formation of committees in the different sections of Paris, destined to watch over foreigners and suspicious people. This law was eluded. Instead of those committees, others were formed in the most illegal manner. These committees created a central committee, after some private deliberation, suspended the constituted authorities, and assumed the title of the revolutionary council of the department of Paris, and also invested itself with a dictatorial power. An extraordinary committee had been formed in the bosom of the convention, to denounce the illegal and arbitrary acts of the constituted authorities, and to cause all persons to be arrested who should be denounced as chiefs of conspiracies. On the 27th of May these revolutionary committees, with an armed force, demanded the suppression of the committee formed by the convention. This request was decreed, but on the next day it was deferred till the committee should have made their report. On the 30th of May they intimated to the convention their order to suppress the extraordinary committee. Amidst armed petitioners, surrounded by cannon, under continual insults from the galleries, some members decreed the suppression of it. On the famous 31st of May the general was again beaten, the tocsin sounded, and the alarm-guns fired. At these signals the citizens flew to arms, and were ordered to assemble round the

the convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against thirty-five members of the convention. The assembly referred this to the committee of public safety, enjoining them to deliver in their report within three days. On the 1st of June, at three in the afternoon, the revolutionary council of Paris marched at the head of an armed force to invest the national hall. At night they appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accusation against the denounced members. The convention passed to the order of the day, and ordered the petitioners to exhibit the proofs of the crimes imputed to the accused members. On the 2d of June the revolutionary council demanded, for the last time, the decree of accusation against the obnoxious deputies. The assembly passed again to the order of the day. The petitioners now gave a signal to the spectators to leave the hall and rush to arms. About noon the generale was beaten, the tocsin sounded; more than a hundred cannon surrounded the national hall, and grates were formed to heat red-hot balls; cannon were pointed towards all the avenues; the gates were shut, and the centries ordered to stop all the members of the convention. Many of the members were insulted by the satellites of Marat. The battalions, which several days before should have marched against the royalists, suddenly arrived, and seized on the inner posts of the hall. Assignats and wine were distributed among them. In short, the representatives were imprisoned in their own hall. To avert the rage of the people, it was ordered that the committee of public safety should make their report. Barrere mounted the tribune, and proposed, that the denounced members, against whom no proof of the imputed crimes had been produced, should be invited to suspend themselves from their functions. Some of them submitted to this measure. At length an end was put to the sitting, the president walked out of the hall at the head of the convention, and ordered the centries to withdraw.

“The convention reached the middle of the court without meeting any resistance; but being arrived there the commander of the armed force ordered them to return. The president told him, the convention was not to be dictated to; that it held its authority independent of any other power than the French people, and that they alone had a great right to command it. The commandant, Henriot, drew his sword, ranged his cavalry in order of battle, and ordered the cannoniers to point their cannon. His soldiers were ready to fire—The president turned back, the members followed him, and attempted every outlet in order to escape, but every avenue was closed or defended by cannon. At length the assembly, unable to retire, resumed their sitting; and some deputies decreed, that the obnoxious members should be put under arrest at their own houses. On the proposal of Marat, Couthon demanded that Valazé and Louvet should be added to that number: some members gave their consent, for the greater part of them did not like to take any share in those humiliating deliberations. After the decree was signed, a deputation made its appearance, to testify its approbation of the decree, and offered an equal number of citizens as hostages for the arrested members.”

After these commotions had subsided, the first step of the triumphant party was to complete the constitution. The national convention, on the 23d of June, issued a proclamation of the rights of man, as a preface to their new form of government, which is contained in thirty-five articles. It states, that the end of society is the general happiness: the rights of man are equal liberty, safety, and the protection of property—a free people know no other motive of preference in their election to offices than virtue and talents—the law is the protection of liberty, and justice its rule—all persons have a right to assemble peaceably for public worship, without
any

any prohibition from particular sects.—The law does not acknowledge servitude or slavery; the contract between master and servant is only an engagement of attention and gratitude, between the man who labours and the man who employs him. Every one has a right to dispose of his property, revenues, labour, and industry, according to his pleasure. Society is obliged to provide for the subsistence of the unfortunate, either by procuring them work, or maintaining those who are unable to labour. The concluding article states, that when the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection becomes the duty of the people. A few days after the publication of this declaration, the assembly announced the completion of the new constitution of France, which had been discussed article by article, and passed as the constitutional act within the space of a fortnight. It is introduced by the following sentence—“The French republic honours loyalty, courage, age, filial piety, and misfortune. It puts the deposit of its constitution under the guard of all the virtues.” It consists of one hundred and twenty-four articles, arranged under general heads, of which the following are the most important :

The rights of citizens are acquired; as to natives, by birth; foreigners acquire them by marrying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France for one year, by maintaining an aged person, or adopting a child.

The sovereignty of the people is next proclaimed.

The primary assemblies are composed of two hundred citizens at least, and six hundred at the most, of those who have been inhabitants for six months in each canton. The elections are made by billet or open vote, at the option of each voter. The suffrages upon laws are given by yes or no.

Of the national representatives the population is the sole basis. There is one deputy for every forty thousand individuals.

individuals. Each re-union of primary assemblies resulting from a population of from thirty-nine thousand to forty-one thousand souls, nominates directly one deputy. The French nation assemble every year on the first of May, for the election. The primary assemblies are formed upon extraordinary occasions, on the demand of a fifth of the citizens who have a right to vote in them; but the extraordinary assemblies only deliberate when more than the half of the citizens are present.

Electoral assemblies are formed by the citizens united in primary assemblies, who name one elector for every two hundred citizens, and in proportion.

The legislative body holds its session for a year, and its first meeting is the first of July. Its members cannot be tried for the opinions they have delivered in the national assembly.

The functions of the legislative body are to propose laws and pass decrees, superintend public instruction, the national domain, and make the declarations of war; to provide for the defence of the territory, and ratify treaties.

The formation of the law is as follows: The plan of a law is preceded by a report; and the discussion of it cannot take place till fifteen days after the report is made. The plan is printed, and sent to all the communes of the republic under this title. "Law proposed." Forty-days after, the law proposed is sent to the departments; if in more than half of the departments the tenth of the primary assemblies of each have not objected to it, the plan is accepted, and becomes a law.

The executive council is composed of twenty-four members, for which the electoral assembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legislative body choose the members of the council from the general list. One half of it is renewed by each legislature, in the last month of the session. It nominates, not of
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its own body, the agents in chief of the general administration of the republic. The legislative body determines the number and the functions of these agents.

Civil justice is administered by justices of the peace elected by the citizens, in circuits determined by the law. They conciliate and judge without expense. Their number and their competence are determinable by the legislature. The justices of the peace are elected every year.

In criminal cases no individual can be tried, but on an examination received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body. The fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment. The punishment is applied by a criminal tribunal. The criminal judges are elected yearly by the electoral assemblies.

The general force of the republic is composed of the whole people. All the French are soldiers; they are all exercised in the use of arms. No armed body can deliberate. The public force, employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council.

National conventions may be appointed on extraordinary occasions. If, in a majority of the departments, the tenth of the primary assemblies of each, regularly formed, demands the revision of the constitutional act, the legislative body is bound to convoke all the primary assemblies of the republic, to know if there be ground for a national convention. The national convention is formed in the same manner as the legislatures, and unites in itself the same power.

Under the title of the correspondence of the French republic with foreign nations, we find the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free people. It does not interfere in the government of other nations. It does not suffer other nations to interfere in the government of its own. It gives an asylum to foreigners banished

banished from their country for the cause of liberty. It does not make peace with an enemy that occupies its territory.

We may observe with Condorcet, that the first objection which naturally arises to this constitution, is the haste in which it has been formed. To this objection it is answered—that though the certainty that man can never reach entire perfection in any thing that he undertakes, implies that the more care and deliberation he employs, the more likely he is to approach this desired point; yet respecting this new constitution, it must be remembered, that for some time a series of writers, whose works all Europe has admired, had prepared the way for the legislators of France: and that for four years they have more or less directly discussed and laid the basis on which the constitution now submitted to the French was erected. In fine, if the work be good, every moment that was saved will entitle the legislators so much the more to the esteem of the public.

Some objections of more essential importance seem to strike us in an impartial review of this plan of government. Dismissing entirely for the present all predilection for monarchy, the point to be considered is, how far it is likely to answer the end of a republican system. In this view, we do not see upon what grounds the excellent mode of electing the legislature, through the medium of electoral assemblies, was laid aside.—Mr. Burke's objections to this system were not likely to be recommended by his authority to the French; and surely no plan could be better devised for the prevention of intrigue, venality, confusion and tumult, than this arrangement. Again, as the legislative body is to be formed on the basis of population, it ought to be specified how and when that proportion should be ascertained; but we apprehend that a still simpler mode would have been, to proceed in the elections according
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to districts, taking for a guide, as to the number of representatives, the present population; and allowing future legislatures to alter the number upon certain principles, in proportion as the population might be found to vary.

The elections are too frequent; and, however visionary politicians may flatter themselves, nothing is more likely to establish an aristocratical interest in republican governments than frequent elections. The choice of representatives then, from the frequent occurrence of the circumstance, becomes a mere matter of course; election dwindles to a kind of *congé d'elire*, and the appointment in time becomes hereditary.

The referring of every law for confirmation to the primary assemblies is a preposterous measure. The tacit consent of the people is given to every law against which they do not expressly protest: for we think the people at large have a right in every government to protest against a law which they find grievous and oppressive. But to refer it directly to them for discussion is surely an absurdity.

The appointment of the executive power is the great difficulty in all democratical systems. The mode adopted by the French appears too complex—It has however one excellence, viz. that ministers cannot now, as by the first constitution, be removed on the harangue of some demagogue in the assembly; and they will therefore be able to act with more energy in their general departments. On the whole, however, notwithstanding these defects; and though we cannot be supposed to retain any very strong predilection for its authors, we think this constitution greatly preferable to that mass of metaphysical absurdities, which was presented to the convention by Condorcet, under the name of a constitution.

Having

Having thus taken a short view of the civil commotions and the political regulations of France, we shall once more revert to its military operations. Though the present combination against this single state exceeds almost any thing recorded in the historic page, its progress has not been in proportion; and this circumstance considered, its success may be termed inconsiderable. Before the tedious sieges of Condé and Valenciennes took place, there were two actions which merit attention; one near Carlberg, the other near the village of Famars.

In the beginning of May general Custine formed a design of cutting off from the enemy a body of seven or eight thousand men who had advanced as far as Rheinzabern; but, to succeed, it was necessary to amuse the Prussians in all parts, and to destroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had at Landau. Had he retained the command of this army, he said he should have deferred that enterprise till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exercised, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the North, he determined to attempt an action to prevent the Prussians from taking advantage of their good position. He, therefore, sent orders to general Houchard to attack in the rear Limberg and Carlberg with the army of the Moselle, while Pulli should be kept in check, and attack with the rest of the corps des Vasaiges, a Prussian corps who had advanced, and while general Sulek with nine battalions and some cavalry should advance towards Anweiler to molest the enemy. The same day the garrison of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nusseriff, with several other posts, and to give the Prussians reason to apprehend that they should be attacked on the rear, in case they should attempt any movements

ments. He also caused a report to be spread in the Prussian army that the cavalry of the army of the Moselle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Strasbourg. In the mean time general Ferrierr who commanded forty battalions, was ordered to shew himself to the enemy till he should hear that the engagement had commenced, and to attack them in the wood of Rheinzadern, and the Austrians who were in it beyond the village. Notwithstanding these orders, Custine observed, that he did not see his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time general Doretmann had commanded a retreat, because the troops being fatigued, could neither procure provisions or drink. The general himself began to march at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-six battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Insheim; but several unavoidable delays, prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced-guard, under the command of general Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the forest of Gemmerweim. While general Landremont was thus engaging the Austrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itself to the heights of Rulsheim, and proceeded as far as that village. Custine charged two divisions of dragoons with vigour, who fled after sustaining considerable loss. Among the number of the dead were three officers. The general observed, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who mistook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have been glorious for the troops of the republic; they answered all attempts to rally them, only by discharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to resume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occasioned by the commander, who began the cry, of treachery. He was arrested, and it was said he destroyed himself. "This day, which ought to have been so memorable," said Custine, "terminated

minated by the taking of one peice of cannon, and a very great number of prisoners."

On the 23d of May after a severe conflict, in which the English troops, under the command of the duke of York, suffered considerably, the French were dislodged from their camp at Famars, which they had fortified with great labour and ability. By this event the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes were left to their fate; but the loss of the combined army was said to have greatly exceeded that of the French.

On the 9th of June another action took place between the French troops under general Laage and the Austrians, near Arlon; and the latter were obliged to retreat to Luxembourg. The French troops on this occasion behaved with singular intrepidity, arranging themselves in order to battle before eight thousand men, posted in a series of entrenchments on an eminence, in the form of steps, marching and receiving their fire in this manner for more than a league, though the eminence was defended by thirty pieces of cannon. After the defeat of the Austrians, the French carried off eight thousand sacks of oats and a large quantity of flour.

In detailing the events that have lately taken place in France and its dependencies, we are conscious that some apology is due for the cursory manner in which we are forced to relate them. But it is impossible to obtain, while a transaction which is essential to history, and it is better briefly to relate facts, than to mistake them. We find these reflections particularly applicable to the state of the French West Indies, from which the accounts have been so confused and imperfect, that it is impossible to collect from them any regular narrative. In St. Domingo the commissioners, Pelverell and Santhonax, who were sent by the convention for the purpose of restoring tranquillity, have rather appeared in the character of apostles of discord than of peace: they seem to have united with
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the people of colour, and a series of assassinations, pillage, and arbitrary imprisonment have compelled the majority of the white colonists to take shelter in America, or in the English West India islands. It is with pain we add, that numbers of these wretched exiles, in flying from the tyranny of their own countrymen, have been intercepted and plundered by the British privateers. Polverell and Santhonax were impeached by a decree of the convention on the 19th of July.

The island of Tobago was taken by a British Squadron under the command of sir John Laforey, about the beginning of April; and encouraged by the disputes which existed between the royalists and the republicans in Martinico admiral Gardner attempted a descent upon that island also, and landed there about three thousand men. The attempt however, proved fatal only to the royalists, as he found on his arrival, the republican party too strong, and was obliged to re-embark his troops, even before he could convey away from certain destruction the whole of the devoted party who had probably invited him to undertake the expedition.

When we direct our attention to the tedious siege of Mentz, it is with difficulty we are able to find terms sufficiently military to mark the tardy progress of his Prussian majesty; he destroyed with great formality several sham batteries which the French had erected, and found a grave for many of his soldiers, from the forties of that garrison.

About the 20th of June, however, he began to form a more serious siege, and our readers have already anticipated the event; as it is well known that the garrison capitulated on the 22d of July; rather leaving us cause to wonder at their long and effectual resistance, than at their final surrender. They had long been in want of every necessary, and particularly of medicines; and a considerable number had been forced to subsist entirely on horse-flesh, and the most unwholesome food.

The latter end of June and the beginning of July were chiefly distinguished in the north by some petty skirmishes between the two grand armies. The latter part of July was marked by some successes of more importance to the Austrians. The garrison of Condé, after sustaining a blockade of three months, surrendered on the 10th by capitulation to the prince of Cobourg; and Valenciennes on the 20th of the same month to the duke of York, not without suspicions of treachery in both cases.

On the 8th of August the French were driven from the strong position which they had taken behind the Scheldt, and which was known by the name of Cæsar's camp; as the French did not make much resistance on this occasion, the loss on both sides was not considerable.

Encouraged by these successes, a large detachment from the combined army, under the command of the duke of York*, proceeded without loss of time to a
vigorous

* The following, which is offered as an explanation of the views of the commanders of the combined army, we copy verbatim from "The Political State of Europe," as we cannot vouch for its authenticity:

"After the surrender of Valenciennes, the British ministry ordered that part of the allied army, which was in the pay of Great-Britain, to attack the west side of French Flanders; in order to take the towns of Berg, Dunkirk, Graveline, and Calais, in the name of the king of Great-Britain. The conquests which the British troops had hitherto contributed to achieve had been taken in the name of the emperor. The Dutch troops were ordered to co-operate with the British in the attack on French Flanders. This project of separating the armies was stated in some of the foreign prints to have been highly disapproved by the Austrian commanders; who strongly recommended a continuation of military operations upon the present plan, with the whole allied army. And more than one of the prints have gone so far as to give some particulars of this division of opinion: they are stated to be as follows:

"A short time after the capture of Valenciennes, a council of war was held upon the future operations of the war; and more particularly on the project proposed by the British cabinet of separating

vigorous attack upon the port and town of Dunkirk. On the 22d of August the duke of York marched from Furnes

parating the armies. The Austrian commanders offered two plans against it: viz.

“The first was, to penetrate to Paris by the assistance of the rivers which fall into the Seine. These rivers, they said, would save an immense fatigue and expence of land carriage for their heavy artillery, baggage and stores. They would have but twenty miles of land carriage in conducting their stores from the Sheldt, to the Oise. The object of it was, that this plan supposed a second campaign; and for its prosecution a number of floats must be provided; and therefore it was rejected. The convulsed state of Europe, the indisposition of every thinking man (out of the privileged order) to the principle of the war, and the alarming consequences to every government in Europe, with which a dilatory and expensive war, for such an object, is pregnant, made it expedient rather to adopt any other course that give the prospect of terminating the struggle in one year.

“However, notwithstanding these objections, urged probably more from motives of design to mislead and deceive, than from any impulse of sincerity, it is shrewdly suspected, that the dread of another campaign made no part of the true cause for rejecting the proposal.

“The next plan was that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfayt, and this had the concurrence of all the Austrian and Prussian generals. It was, that they should take instant advantage of the consternation in which the unexpected surrender of Valenciennes had thrown the people of France, and the disorder of all their armies by the denunciation of their generals. That forty or fifty thousand light troops should instantly penetrate to Paris, while a debarkation should be made on the coast of Britany, and force a junction there with the mal-contents. General Clairfayt pledged himself on the success of this project.

“Upon a moment's view of this plan, it will be perceptible to every one, that the debarkation spoken of must have consisted of British troops from British vessels. The British ministry unquestionably did not approve of it:—their plan was to divide the armies—and to take as many of the frontier garrisons as possible—that those on the coast should be taken in the name and retained by the arms of his Britannic majesty; and that in this position they should wait to take advantage of the disorders, which, in the course of the winter, were expected to arise in a country, so hemmed in from without and so convulsed within.

Furnes to attack the French camp at Ghivelde, which was abandoned on his approach, and he was almost immediately enabled to take the ground which it was his intention to occupy during the siege. On the 24th he attacked the out-posts of the French, who with some loss were driven into the town. In this action the famous Austrian general Dalton and some other officers of note were killed.—The succeeding day the siege might be said regularly to commence. A considerable naval armament from Great Britain was to have co-operated in the siege, but by some neglect admiral Macbride was not able to sail so early as was expected. In the mean time the hostile army was extremely harassed by the gunboats of the French; a successful sortie was effected by the garrison on the 6th of September; and the French collecting in superior force, the siege was raised on the 7th, after several severe actions in which the allied forces suffered very considerably. General Houchard was afterwards impeached by the convention for not having improved his success to the best advantage, as it is asserted that he had it in his power to capture almost the whole of the duke of York's army. The French, after this event, took a strong position in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole united force of the allies collected under the prince of Cobourg. Upon the 15th and 16th of October, however, the prince was attacked by the troops of the republic under general Jourdain, who succeeded Houchard, with such vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immense loss, to abandon his position, and repass the Sambre. It was some time before the allied forces were

“ This plan, therefore, *as the general paymaster*, Britain succeeded in imposing on the allies.

“ In consequence of this plan, the Duke of York with the British and Hanoverians, the Dutch, some Hessians, and a body of Austrians, separated from the main army, and began their march for Dunkirk.”

able

able to stop the progress of the French, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Ostend. A considerable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the West Indies, under sir Charles Grey, their destination was altered: and by arriving at the fortunate moment at Ostend, they probably prevented the Low Countries from once more becoming subject to France.

The forces of the republic were still more eminently successful in repelling the attempts of the rebels in the department of La Vendée. General Biron repulsed the army of the insurgents from Luçon on the 28th of June. But with an unexplicable impetuosity and rashness which characterizes all their proceedings, the general had scarcely announced his success before he was suspended from his command, and placed under arrest. General Biron was succeeded by general Beyffer, and afterwards by Lechelle. It would be tedious to enter on a minute detail of this petty war; let it suffice to say, that the unfortunate insurgents made a most vigorous resistance to every effort of the convention till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed. After being driven from La Vendée, they divided into three bodies. The first threw themselves into the island of Noirmontier, where they remain in a state of blockade. The second probably dispersed; and the third took the route of Anjou, Maine, and Britany, where they still carry on a desultory warfare.

The disaffection of the southern provinces which immediately followed the revolution, as it is called, of the 31st of May, was productive of perhaps more serious consequences to the new government. It is well known that the deputies and people of these provinces were among the foremost in the iniquitous transaction of dethroning their king on the execrable 10th of August 1792. It is therefore something extraordinary that the

same men should be among the first to rebel against the authority of the convention. The formidable union which took place under the name of *federate republicanism*, between the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, in the course of the months of June and July, seemed to threaten almost the dissolution of the existing authorities. A considerable army was, however, dispatched against Lyons, and that city closely besieged. The Marseillois in the mean time opened their gates on the approach of the republican army, and submitted; but the people of Toulon entered into a negotiation with the English admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, and he took possession both of the town and shipping in the name of Louis XVII. and under the express and positive stipulation that he is to assist in restoring the constitution of 1789.

On the 8th of October the city of Lyons surrendered to general Doppet. The chiefs of the rebels had fled, but several of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a subsequent decree of the convention, the walls and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be destroyed, and the name of the city itself to be changed to that of *Ville Affranchie*.

We have been led a little to transgress the chronological order of our narrative, to exhibit a connected detail of the external war and internal disturbances of this unhappy country. We should otherwise have remarked that the incendiary Marat did not long survive to enjoy his triumph in the convention. On the 13th of July he was assassinated in his own house by the hand of an enthusiastic female of the name of Charlotte Corde, a native of Caen, and who appeared to have some connexion with the deputies of the Gironde party.

The remains of this notorious anarchist were interred with great funeral pomp, attended by a party of the national convention and a vast multitude of citizens.

As he is gone to be tried before an omnipotent tribunal, we must let his guilt pass with him to the silence of the grave. That Marat was an enthusiast, is beyond dispute; and whether he was any other than a pernicious madman still appears a matter of doubt; he must at least have been impelled by some other motive than avarice, since he is said to have died poor. This, it is true, affords no apology for the atrocities which he provoked or committed; there are but few, therefore, who will probably lament his death, except those who instigated, or at least profited by his crimes.

The death of this execrable incendiary did not restore the convention and the mob of Paris to reason and humanity. On the night of the 1st of August the unfortunate queen was forcibly separated from her family, conveyed from the Temple to the Conciergerie, one of the prisons destined for common malefactors; where her treatment was such as would disgrace a civilized people. She was confined in a narrow room, or rather vault, of eight feet square, and the couch on which degraded royalty was destined to repose was a hard bed of straw. The graces had all deserted her countenance, and the marks of premature old age seemed to proclaim that repeated sorrows would soon have terminated a life, which was unnecessarily devoted to the hand of the executioner.

If any act of phrensy could exceed the ill treatment of the queen (who, though her sufferings may have expiated her crimes, certainly cannot be considered as the friend of France) it is the shocking ingratitude and cruelty which the ruling party immediately afterwards exercised to one of the most meritorious generals that ever the French republic could boast. The unfortunate Custine, after being committed a prisoner to the Abbey, was accused before the revolutionary tribunal of having maintained an improper correspondence with the Prussians while he commanded on the Rhine, and of having neglected

lected various opportunities of throwing reinforcements into Valenciennes. We have already remarked that the French have no distinct notions of the administration of justice; they have no idea of the *nature of evidence*. To be suspected, is to be condemned. The unfortunate general, in the crisis of his adversity, lamented that he appeared forsaken by every friend; and the remorseless populace of Paris, accustomed to fights of horror, beheld the murder of their former defender with calm indifference, or with blind exultation.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed that of general Custine. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the substance of which was—That she had contributed to the derangements of the national finances, by remitting from time to time considerable sums to her brother, the emperor Joseph—That since the revolution she had continued to hold a criminal correspondence with foreign powers—That in every instance she had directed her views to a counter-revolution, particularly in exciting the body guards and others of the military at Versailles on the 1st of October 1789—That in concert with Louis Capet she had distributed counter-revolutionary papers and writings; and even, to favour their purposes, some in which she was personally defamed—That in the beginning of October 1789, by the agency of certain monopolists, she had created an artificial famine—That she was the principal agent and promoter of the flight of the royal family in June 1791—That she instituted private councils in the palace, at which the massacres, as they were termed in the Champ de Mars, at Nancy, &c. were planned—That in consequence of these councils she had persuaded her husband to interpose his veto against the decrees concerning the emigrants and refractory priests—That she influenced him to form a body guard composed of disaffected persons, and induced him to give employments to the refractory priests.

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One of the most singular charges was, that in conjunction with a scandalous faction (that of the Gironde we conceive) she induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy, and the public welfare.

The act proceeds to state, That she communicated to the enemy plans of the campaign, - and other intelligence. That the affair of the 10th of August was the consequence of a horrible conspiracy against the nation formed by her intrigues; and that, to promote her views, she kept the Swiss guards in a state of intoxication— That on that day she presented the king with a pistol, saying, “This is the moment to shew yourself;” and on his refusing called him coward—That she was also a principal agent in the internal war with which France has been distressed.

The last charge was the most infamous and incredible; viz. That, like Agrippina, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son.

On the trial a number of witnesses were examined; but we must observe that few of the charges appeared to be substantiated. A maid servant gave in evidence a conversation which she had formerly held with the duke of Coigny, in which he complained of the immense sums privately remitted by the queen to her brother during his war with the Turks; and some papers were referred to, from which it appeared that the queen had drawn for money on the treasury since the revolution.

The charge concerning her favouring the anti-patriotic sentiments of the body guards at Versailles on the 1st of October, was better supported, and we think, on the whole, was proved; as well as her activity in promoting the flight of the royal family to Varennes. The rest of the evidence on the latter subject concurred with the statement which is given in a former part of this work.

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It appeared also that she had frequently been consulted by the king upon political subjects; that she had recommended some persons to brevets in the gardes-du-corps: that she treated her son with regal respect was also proved. But the horrid charge of incest was made upon the authority merely of some indistinct communications from the boy Capet to the mayor of Paris.

The unfortunate victim was prejudged; and had the evidence been even more frivolous, it is probable she could not have escaped: after an hour's consultation, therefore, the jury brought in their verdict—"guilty of all the charges."

The queen heard the sanguinary sentence with dignity and resignation; perhaps indeed it might be occasioned by her less as a punishment than as a release. On the 16th of October, at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, she was conducted in a coach from the prison of the Conciergerie, to a scaffold prepared in the Place de la Revolution, where her unfortunate husband had previously suffered. Her behaviour at that awful moment was decent and composed. The minister of St. Landrey was appointed to discharge the office of a confessor; and whatever might have been the foibles which disgraced her early years, we have reason, on good authority, to believe that she died a real penitent; and, like her husband, found in the truths of religion a source of consolation of which the malice of her enemies was unable to deprive her, and which themselves will probably want.

Amidst these serious and dreadful events, it is something curious to observe the national convention amusing themselves with the formation of a new calendar. The year is, according to this, divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which are dedicated to a national festivity, and called on that account *sans-culottides*. Each month is divided into decades, and the day of rest is appointed for every tenth day instead of the seventh.

About

About the same period a decree was passed, ordering all foreigners born in those countries with which the republic was at war, under arrest, and their property to be in the custody of the public accomptants till the end of the war.

We close our narrative with an article of intelligence respecting the Gironde party.—On the 30th of October, twenty-two of the deputies of the Gironde party, who had been for some time in a state of arrest, were condemned and executed, on the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal, for treasonous practices against the unity and indivisibility of the French republic. The names of the deputies who suffered on this occasion were Brissot, Vergniaud, Genoué, Duprat, Valazé, Lehardi, Ducos, Boyer, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fauchet, Duperret, Lafource, Carra, Beauvau, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaze.

The reader will recognize among these names, several of those who were most active in dethroning the king, and establishing a republic. Valazé, who had prepared the charges against the king, stabbed himself as soon as the sentence was pronounced. Fauchet was one of the constitutional bishops; and Lafource a protestant clergyman.

In reviewing the progress of the French revolution, and the conduct of the principal actors in those extraordinary scenes, a variety of reflections occur, and in pursuing a few of them we may perhaps be permitted to indulge.

It has been generally remarked, that no revolution which had liberty for its foundation or its pretext was ever disgraced by so wanton an effusion of blood, by so many sanguinary executions, such inhuman massacres, so much rancour and persecution of every kind. To understand the nature and causes of these melancholy events, several considerations will demand our attention.

I. It

I. It is necessary to observe, that the revolution in France was at the first too suddenly effected. The change in the circumstances, habits, and opinions of the people was too violent, and they were too little prepared for the enjoyment of liberty. Had the court anticipated the assembling of the states-general by some salutary and useful reforms in favour of the people, they would not only have served to strengthen the connexion between the king and his subjects, and more firmly to attach the latter; but such a conduct would have been a proper initiatory process, and would have prepared all ranks of people to act as rational agents in the cause of freedom. Had the king, by his own authority, abolished the odious tyranny of *lettres de cachet*, the punishment of the rack, and every species of judicial cruelty, it would not only have endeared *him* to his subjects, but would have humanized *them*. Could he have ordered a revival of the judicial system, and, in particular, could he have established the trial by jury, it would have enured them to the practice of equity, and to the calm investigation of truth. If he had done in addition, what there is reason to believe he was not averse to, that is, if he had indulged the natural clemency of his temper in permitting a free toleration to religious opinions, he would have attached the protestants, and would have greatly lessened the acuteness of party animosity—and if he had favoured, to a certain degree, the liberty of the press, the free discussion of controverted points might have been advantageous to the cause of truth and moderation; while, on the contrary, the people having been wholly unaccustomed to the liberty of the press, were not on their guard against its licentiousness, and were constantly imposed upon, and the dupes of the infamous journalists and their employers.

When the states-general assembled, the court party appeared to have no system, no settled plan of proceeding.

ing. They were undetermined what to retain or what to relinquish; whereas the plan of government ought to have been previously settled; every thing to be proposed to the states ought to have been well digested; and proper agents chosen to introduce each particular measure to the national assembly. On the contrary, nothing could be more absurd than the attempt, after the deputies of the nation were assembled in one common hall, and even while the metropolis was in a ferment, to restore or preserve the ancient regimen. With this unfortunate outset the whole conduct of the king and of the court corresponded. The feast of the military at Marseilles; the flight of the king; the obstinate exercise of the veto; all served to cast a suspicion on the designs of the court.

II. Long previous to the revolution, the French were the most profligate, corrupt and unprincipled people in Europe. All of the higher orders were dissipated, they were consequently all venal. The lower classes were hardened by ignorance, by oppression, by the frequent horrid executions of which they were witnesses, and by other severities. The venality and corruption of some, who from time to time affected to be friends of the people, drew down a suspicion upon all of the higher orders*; and the ferocity of the multitude, and their ignorance, and consequent want of principle, plunged them into the most fatal and sanguinary excesses.

III. Connected with this circumstance, we have to deplore the irreligious principles which has so unfortunately made so fatal a progress in France. There is nothing but religion that can impart an uniformity to the moral character. Where expediency is the only rule of conduct, the human mind will naturally indulge in too

* Petion, Dumourier, and most of the party of the Gironde are strongly suspected of having greatly enriched themselves by the most palpable peculations.

great a latitude on some occasions, especially where the passions are strongly interested. This perhaps, indeed, is the distinguishing circumstance which marks the two revolutions of America and of France. The Americans were possessed of a strong sense of religion; and consequently, though the instances of treachery which occurred amongst themselves were scarcely less numerous in proportion than those which happened among the French, the victims of popular fury were much fewer. They were under a necessity of defending themselves; but, independent of that circumstance, they could not forget that their religion taught them "to love their enemies;" but the majority of the French nation were either un instructed in the truths of this religion, or had rejected its salutary restraints.*

VI. It has been already intimated, that the league of Pilnitz, and the infamous conduct of the combined powers towards the republic of Poland, excited at once the apprehensions and resentment of the French. It was no difficult matter to persuade the multitude that the

* After all, if we would trace calamity to its source, we must be forced to confess that the flimsy writings of that wretched caviller Voltaire have **UNDONE FRANCE**. We earnestly hope the example will operate as a caution to other governments, and teach them to beware of permitting with impunity impious and licentious publications. They may rely upon it, there are no libels so dangerous to a state as those against God. We venerate and ever shall venerate, the cause of religious toleration. Every sect which acknowledges a future state of rewards and punishments is innoxious, if not respectable. But if this great foundation of morality is removed, there can be no dependence on the principle or integrity of a people. Let the Horsleys and the Priestleys freely indulge themselves in verbal contests concerning the disputed points of theology:—but let every impious scoffer, who presumes to aim his destructive shafts at any of the great doctrines of religion, be *severely punished*, and his writings strictly prohibited. Till this is the case no government can be safe, nor will it be possible to maintain order, or even common honesty, amongst men.

court was immediately connected with the invaders; and this opinion was unfortunately countenanced by the publications of the combined powers, and particularly by the imprudent manifesto of the duke of Brunswick. The repeated dismissal of the popular minister, and the obstinacy of the king in other instances, confirmed the suspicion. Hence, and hence only, the republican faction were enabled to acquire so much credit with the people in the months of June, July, and August 1792. The avowed hostility of this faction might have driven the court in its turn into hostile measures, without imputing actual treachery to Louis. For we must observe, that it is a matter still involved in impenetrable obscurity; and it is impossible to determine, from the state of the evidence either the nature or the extent of the king's connexions with the counter-revolutionists. Thus far is certain that Paris was crowded with *ci-devant* noblesse, and other disaffected persons, on the 10th of August. The fatal rupture, and the dreadful carnage of that bloody day, let loose at once all the demons of discord. Every bad passion was put in motion—revenge, party rage, the desire of plunder, all that is depraved and abominable in human nature, was predominant in the breasts of different individuals, and prepared the way for the still deeper horrors of the 2d and 3d of September, and for all the calamities which have since happened to that nation.

V. Another circumstance which we must remark is that the excessive population of France is generally calculated to perpetuate violence and anarchy in that country. Independent of the frequent alarms of famine from this circumstance, it is impossible that there should not exist in every considerable city immense multitudes of indigent and desperate persons, who are always ready to promote every species of mischief and disorder, and who when once excited cannot easily be reduced to peace and subordination

dination. This again constitutes another remarkable shade of difference between the American and the French revolutions. The American armies were composed in general of settled and industrious people, of farmers and mechanics, most of whom had families; they consequently embraced the first opportunity to return to their peaceable employments and habitations, to sit every man under his own fig-tree: and they regarded the affairs of state no further than as they served to secure them in the peaceable possession and enjoyment of their property. Every man at the conclusion of the war had something to do: every man had business of his own to attract his attention. Not so the rabble of Paris, of Lyons, of Marseilles—many of them have no regular employments, and the numbers of banditti are increased by the total stagnation of the commerce and manufactures of France. They can acquire more by plunder and confiscation than by sober industry, and thus it becomes at once their interest to be turbulent, unruly, sanguinary, and capricious. The disorder and violence was increased by the numbers; and the passions are inflamed in proportion to the multitudes which are collected together.

It was in vain then that the party of the Gironde after the 10th of August affected a tone of moderation; it was in vain, when they had obtained their wishes, that they exhorted the populace to return to order and obedience. They had excited the fatal concussion; they had taught the multitude to know their own strength; they had disturbed the general tranquillity, and absurdly flattered themselves that a spirit of insurrection would be as easily quelled as it was excited.

Without wishing, therefore, to depreciate their slender claim to merit in attempting to save the life of the king, we cannot but regard this party as the immediate authors of all the calamities which have befallen their country since the overthrow of the monarchical constitution

tution. The massacre of the 10th of August was scarcely less atrocious than that of the 2d of September, and when these men fell the victims of the very means that they had employed, and were murdered in their turn by the very mob which they had formerly excited, though our religion teaches us to pity even the guilty, and to lament the shedding of human blood upon any occasion, yet it was impossible not to discern something of retributive justice in the dreadful event.

The Gironde had moreover something to charge themselves with for wantonly engaging their country in one vain and fruitless war after another: and on the whole, we think they had been a pernicious faction. They were perhaps, less sanguinary and cruel than their ferocious successors, but in point of real principle we see little room for preference.

VI. A more fatal means of promoting bad dispositions among the people has been the popular societies instituted throughout the kingdom, for debating upon political subjects, and the Jacobins in particular. In the first dawn of French liberty such institutions might have their use; but they should even have been restrained within moderate bounds, and as soon as possible dissolved. These have afforded a constant asylum to the profligate; and in these every absurdity, every measure of sedition and of cruelty in the national councils, have originated. But after the facts which are stated in the preceding pages it is unnecessary to enlarge upon this topic.

Such appear to have been the principal causes which have operated to give to the French revolution that sanguinary and horrid character by which it has been too fatally distinguished; and which, as far as circumstances may apply to other nations, may serve as a warning against hasty revolutions, and as a guide in the conducting of such plans of reformation as political exigencies may seem to warrant or require.

To speculate on the future state of France would be a hazardous undertaking, even for the most fertile imagination, or the most acute discernment. Notwithstanding the difficulty and the danger, however, a few conjectures we will venture to submit to our readers; rather with a view to entertainment than use.

We look not to the subjugation of France by the present combination, since it has been the uniform assertion of those who are best acquainted with the resources and temper of the nation, that whatever the force of the external attack, she is *invincible*: and this sentiment derives some confirmation from the experience of two campaigns.

On the restoration of peace, from what ever cause that may be effected, we look for a train of events very different from what the aspect of affairs at present seem to promise. The first circumstance which, in that case we will venture to predict, is, that the present leaders will not long be able to retain their power. Whatever their abilities (and we must confess that they have displayed some energy, if not ability) they have not character enough to support their popularity long, even with a profligate and corrupt people.

That the experiment of establishing a republic will be continued for some time longer, we think it probable; but it will never be more than an experiment; and before many years the nation, wearied with faction and with contest, will certainly have recourse to some form of monarchy or aristocracy; and that period would be hastened, were any one man particularly distinguished by his talents above his competitors to arise. No such has yet appeared but it is amidst the violence of political commotion that genius is called into action, and it would be contrary to all historical precedent if none was to present himself on this occasion.

The present legislators of France, we cannot possibly doubt, have it ultimately in view to abolish christianity—In this they will be disappointed. The people must have

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a religion ; and none so good as the christian can be offered them, some form of religion will be the predominant faith of the French people. The most probable conjecture is, that the enthusiastic professors of some of the least moderate of the protestant sects will insinuate themselves among them, and effect a religious revolution not less stupendous than that which they have experienced in their civil state. This very circumstance may hasten the political crisis to which we alluded in the preceding paragraph. The imprudent measure of the convention in unsettling the faith of the nation in the foolish expectation of establishing atheism, has just prepared the public mind for such a change ; nor shall we be surpris'd to see, in the course of a few years the disciples of Whitfield, of Wesley, or perhaps of Swedenborg, usurp that authority which is at present possessed by the atheistical chiefs of the convention.

With respect to the *war* in which this country is at present engaged with France—we are willing in common candour, to acquit the British ministry of the atrocious charge of having at all entered into the views of the combined powers in the absurd project for a partition of France ; and we believe the accusation to be a gross and unfounded calumny. This will not, we confess, apologize for the want of prudence in our ministry in departing from that system of strict neutrality which was so entirely essential to our prosperity. From this concession it will be evident, that we think our ministry was precipitate in hastening a rupture with France ; and indeed we do not find the reasons for those measures which involved us in hostilities well founded. Two causes were assigned by the minister for breaking with the French nation : but these were surely quite inconsistent with each other. The first was the atrocity and villainy of their conduct ; the second, the fear that their example might be followed in this country. Surely we are correct in saying these two reasons are inconsistent. The *more atrocious* the conduct

of the French, the less danger that any other nation should copy their example; and the truth is, that though every society is liable to be infested with a few enthusiasts and visionaries, the example of the French has operated as a complete warning to Britain, and as a decisive antidote to the extension of democratic principles which had perhaps been rather promoted by the successful example of America.

If it were permitted to scrutinize into the secrets of cabinets, perhaps we may find that the motive of the English ministry in provoking, and that of the French in declaring war, was on each side a vain-glorious and absurd hope of conquest. It is to be presumed, that both parties have learned a little wisdom from recent experience; and we should be happy to find that the result of that wisdom should be the re-establishment of peace. It is an insult upon common sense to say there is no person with whom we can treat. No matter through what medium tranquillity is restored. Whoever is proclaimed by the public voice the agent of any people, with that person (whatever his moral character) it must be lawful to transact all necessary business.

We conclude therefore in earnestly recommending peace, by whatever means it may be achieved. Let us leave the French to answer for their own sins. Whatever may be *their* code of faith, it is ours to believe in a providential ruler, the avenger of justice and of cruelty. A particular society does not trench on the divine prerogative, when it punishes individual crimes, committed in defiance of those laws which it has established for the security of its own members; but when one nation marches in warlike array to punish the sins of another nation, the attempt favours too much of Quixotism, and the only consequence is commonly the sacrifice of many innocent and meritorious lives.

Admitting the truth of all that has been alleged of the depravity of the French (and certainly we cannot be
accused

accused of any disposition to controvert it), still the question will not easily be answered, "What interest can Great Britain have in the contest? what ultimate advantage are *we* to derive from it?" If the French are, as they are represented, "a worthless, depraved, and incorrigible people," are the blood and treasure of Britain to be lavished, are her manufactures and commerce to be sacrificed, for the purpose of framing a government for a people, who cannot upon these principles be worthy of the slightest exertion? But, it will be said, "the whole nation is not to be blamed for the crimes of a faction; the majority may probably wish for a better arrangement."—Leave then the majority to reform their own government. "But the emigrants at least are deserving persons, and ought to be restored to their rights and property."—Bestow upon the emigrants but one half of the waste lands, which it is reported are shortly to be sold, and present them with but one half year's military expenditure, and you will do them a much more essential kindness than by instantly restoring them (were it even in your power) to their former situation.

It is the grossest of absurdities to suppose that French principles can ever make an extensive progress in this country, unless indeed the public distress should drive the people to desperation. We repeat it, the French have acted in such a manner, that the most despotic prince in Europe may slumber in security; since there is scarcely a people would not be disposed to submit to the most oppressive mandates of authority, rather than fraternize with them, or imitate their dreadful example. In one word, it is not France for which we plead—we plead for ourselves. We plead for the distresses of the poor, for the embarrassments of the manufacturer, for the lives of those who are most dear to us, for that blood which is much too precious to be shed in this fruitless, this thankless quarrel.

APPENDIX.

AN
AUTHENTIC COPY
OF THE
FRENCH CONSTITUTION,
AS
REVISED AND AMENDED
BY THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
AND
PRESENTED TO THE KING ON THE THIRD OF
SEPTEMBER, 1791.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF THE CITIZENS.

THE Representatives of the French people, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the Rights of Man, are the sole causes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have resolved to exhibit, in a solemn Declaration, the natural, unalienable, and sacred Rights of Man, in order that this Declaration, ever present to all the Members of the SOCIAL BODY, may incessantly remind them of their rights and of their duties; to the ends that the acts of the legislative power, and those of the executive power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political institutions, may acquire the more respect; in order also that the remonstrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on simple and incontestible principles, may ever
tend

tend to maintain the Constitution, and to promote the general good.

For this reason, the National Assembly recognizes, and declares in the presence, and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Men and Citizens :

ARTICLE FIRST.

ALL men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: social distinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man: these rights are, liberty, property, security, and resistance against oppression.

III. The principle of *sovereignty* resides essentially in the nation: *no body of men*, *no individual*, can exercise an authority that does not emanate expressly from that source.

IV. *Liberty* consists in the power of doing every thing except that which is hurtful to another: hence, the exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other bounds than those that are necessary to ensure to the other members of society the enjoyment of the same rights: these bounds to be determined by the law only.

V. The law has a right to forbid those actions alone, that are hurtful to society. Whatever is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered; and no person can be constrained to do that which the law ordaineth not.

VI. The law is the expression of the general will: all the citizens have a right to concur personally, or by their representatives, to the formation of the law: it ought to be the same for all, whether it protect or whether it punish. All citizens being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admissible to public honours, places and offices,

offices, according to their capacity, and without any other distinction but that of their virtue, or their talents.

VII. No man can be accused, arrested, or detained, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law hath prescribed. Those who solicit, dispatch, execute, or cause to be executed arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; but every citizen that is summoned, or seized, in virtue of the law, ought to obey instantly — he becomes culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to establish such punishments only as are strictly and evidently necessary; and no person can be punished, but in virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till such time as he has been declared guilty, if it should be deemed absolutely necessary to arrest a man, every kind of rigour employed, not necessary to secure his person, ought to be severely punished by the law.

X. No person shall be molested for his opinions, even such as are religious, provided that the manifestation of those opinions does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The free communication of thought, and of opinion, is one of the most precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments; subject, however, to answer for the abuse of that liberty, in cases determined by the law.

XII. The guarantee of the rights of men and citizens involves a necessity of *public force*. This force is then instituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular utility of those to whom it is confided.

XIII. For the maintainance of the public force, and for the expences of administration, a common contribution is indispensably necessary: this contribution should be equally divided among all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

XIV. Ever

XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himself, or by his representative, to decide concerning the necessity of the public contribution; to consent to it freely; to look after the employment of it; to determine the quantity, the distribution, the collection, and duration.

XV. Society has a right to demand from every public agent, an account of his administration.

XVI. The society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured, nor the separation of powers determined, has *no constitution*.

XVII. Property being a right inviolable and sacred, no person can be deprived of it, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, shall evidently require it, and on condition of a just and previous indemnification.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, desirous of establishing the French Constitution on the principles which it has just now recognised and declared, abolishes, irrevocably, those institutions which are injurious to liberty and equality of rights.

There is no longer any *nobility*, nor *peerage*, nor *hereditary distinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal government*, nor *patrimonial jurisdiction*, nor any of the *titles*, *denominations* and *prerogatives* which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of *chivalry*, *corporations*, or *decorations* for which proofs of nobility were required; nor any kind of superiority, but that of public functionaries in the exercise of their functions.

No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchaseable*.

No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth possess any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.

There are no more *wardenships* or *corporations* in professions, arts or trades.

The law recognises no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the Constitution.

TITLE I.

FUNDAMENTAL REGULATIONS GUARANTEED BY
THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Constitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

1. That all the citizens are admissible to places and employments, without any other distinction than that of *virtue* and *talents*.

2. That all taxes shall be equally divided amongst all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

3. That the same crimes shall be subject to the same punishments, without any distinction of persons.

The Constitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights, liberty to every man to go, stay, or depart, without being arrested, or detained, except according to the forms determined by the Constitution.

Liberty to every man to speak, write, print and publish his thoughts, without the writings being subjected to censure or inspection before their publication, and to exercise the religious worship to which he is attached.

Liberty to the citizens to assemble peaceably, and without arms, in complying with the laws of police.

Liberty to address to the constituted authorities, petitions signed by individuals.

The Legislative Power can make no law which would attack, or impede the exercise of the natural or civil rights expressed in the present title, and guaranteed by the Constitution; but as liberty consists only in the power of doing what neither injures the rights of another, nor the public safety, the law may establish penalties against acts which, attacking either the rights of others, or the public safety, would be injurious to society.

The constitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a just and previous indemnity for that of which
public

public necessity, legally proved, shall require the sacrifice.

Property, destined to the expence of worship, and to all services of public utility, belongs to the nation and shall at all times be at its disposal.

The Constitution guarantees all the alienations which have been, or which shall be made according to the forms established by the law.

The citizens have a right to choose or elect the ministers of their religions.

There shall be created and organised, a general establishment of *public aid* for the education of deserted children, to relieve the infirm poor, and to procure work for the healthy poor who have not been able to find it for themselves.

There shall be created and organised, a *public instruction*, common to all citizens, gratuitous with regard to those parts of tuition indispensable for all men, and of which the establishments shall be gradually distributed in a proportion combined with the division of the kingdom.

There shall be established, *national festivals*, to preserve the remembrance of the French Revolution, to keep up fraternal affection amongst the citizens, and attachment to the constitution, the country, and the laws.

There shall be drawn up, a code of civil laws, common to all the kingdom.

T I T L E II.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM, AND THE STATE OF THE CITIZENS.

I. THE KINGDOM is *one and indivisible*: its territory is divided into eighty-three departments; every department into districts; each district into cantons.

II. Those are *French citizens*,

Who are born in France, of a French father;

Who,

Who, having been born in France, of a foreign father, have fixed their residence in the kingdom;

Who, having been born in a foreign country, of a French father, have returned to settle in France, and have taken the civic oath.

In fine, who having been born in a foreign country, being descended, in what ever degree, from a French man or a French woman who have left their country from religious motives, come to reside in France and take the civic oath.

III. Those who, having been born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, but reside in France, become French Citizens, after five years of continued residence in the kingdom; if, besides, they had acquired immoveable property, or married a French woman, or formed an establishment of agriculture or commerce, and if they have taken the civic oath.

IV. The legislative power may, from important considerations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other condition than that of residing in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is, *I swear to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King; and to maintain, with all my power, the constitution of the kingdom decreed by the Constituent Assembly in the year 1789, 1790, and 1791.*

VI. The quality of a French Citizen is lost:

1st, By naturalization in a foreign country;

2d, By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the person condemned be not re-instated.

3d, By a sentence of contumacy, provided the sentence be not annulled;

4th, By an association with any foreign order of chivalry, or any foreign body, which shall suppose either proofs of nobility, or distinction of birth, or require religious vows.

VII. The

VII. The law regards *marriage* solely as a *civil contract*. The legislative power shall establish for all the inhabitants, without distinction, the mode by which births, marriages, and deaths, shall be ascertained, and shall appoint the public officers, who shall receive and preserve the certificates of them.

VIII. French Citizens, considered with respect to those local relations which arise out of their association in cities, and in certain divisions of territory in the country, from the *communities*.

The legislative power may fix the extent and boundary of each community.

IX. The citizens who compose each community, have a right of choosing, for a time, according to the forms prescribed by the law, those among them, who, under the name of *municipal officers*, are charged with the management of the particular affairs of the community.

To the municipal officers may be delegated, certain functions relative to the general interest of the state.

X. The rules which the municipal officers shall be bound to follow, in the exercise both of the municipal functions and of those which shall be delegated to them for the general interest, shall be fixed by the law.

TITLE III.

OF THE PUBLIC POWERS.

I. *THE sovereignty* is one, indivisible, inalienable, and imprescriptible; it belongs to the nation: no section of the people, nor any individual, can assume to itself the exercise of it.

II. The Nation, from which alone flow all the powers, cannot exercise them but by delegation.

The French Constitution is *representative*; the representatives are the legislative body, and the king.

III The

III. The legislative power is delegated to a National Assembly, composed of temporary representatives freely chosen by the people, to be exercised by this Assembly, with the sanction of the King, in manner afterwards determined.

IV. The government is monarchical; the executive power is delegated to the King, to be exercised under his authority, by ministers and other responsible agents, in manner afterwards to be determined.

V. The judicial power is delegated to judges chosen for a time by the people.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE National Assembly, forming the legislative body, is permanent, and consists of one chamber only.

II. That it shall be formed by new elections every two years.

Each period of two years shall form one legislature.

III. The dispositions of the preceding articles shall not take place with respect to the ensuing legislative body, whose powers shall cease the last day of April, 1793.

IV. The renewal of the legislative body shall be matter of full right.

V. The legislative body cannot be dissolved by the king.

SECTION I.

Number of Representatives—Bases of Representation.

I. THE number of representatives to the legislative body is seven hundred and forty-five, on account of the eighty-three departments of which the kingdom is composed,

posed, and independent of those that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The representatives shall be distributed among the eighty-three departments, according to the three proportions of *territory*, of *population*, and of *direct contribution*.

III. Of the seven hundred and forty-five representatives, two hundred and forty-seven are attached to the territory.

Of these each department shall nominate three, except the department of Paris, which shall only nominate one.

IV. Two hundred and forty-nine representatives are attributed to the population.

The total mass of the active population of the kingdom is divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts, and each department nominates as many of the deputies as it contains parts of the population.

V. Two hundred and forty-nine representatives are attached to the direct contribution.

The sum total of the direct contribution of the kingdom is likewise divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts; and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

S E C T I O N II.

Primary Assemblies—Nomination of Electors.

I. IN order to form a National Legislative Assembly, the Active Citizens shall meet every two years, in Primary Assemblies, in the towns and cantons.

The Primary Assemblies shall form themselves, of full right, the second Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked sooner by the public officers established by law.

II. To be an Active Citizen, it is necessary,
To be born, or to have become a Frenchman;

To

To be twenty-five years of age complete;

To have resided in the city or canton during the time determined by the law.

To pay, in any part of the kingdom, a direct contribution, at least equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance;

Not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a servant receiving wages;

To be inscribed in the municipality of the place of his residence, in the list of the national guards;

To have taken the civic oath.

III. Every six years the legislative body shall fix the *minimum* and the *maximum* of the value of a day's labour, and the administrators of the departments shall determine the rate for every district.

IV. None shall exercise the rights of an active citizen in more than one place, nor employ another as his substitute.

V. Those shall be excluded from the rights of an active citizen.

Who are in a state of accusation.

Who, after having been constituted in a state of failure, or insolvability, proved by authentic documents, shall not produce a general discharge from their creditors.

VI. The Primary Assemblies shall name electors in proportion to the number of active citizens residing in the town or canton.

There shall be named one elector for a hundred active citizens present, or not, in the Assembly.

There shall be named two for one hundred and fifty-one to two hundred and fifty; and so on in this proportion.

VII. No man can be named elector, if along with the conditions necessary in order to be an active citizen, he does not join the following:—In towns of more than six thousand inhabitants, that of being proprietor or life-renter of a property valued on the rolls of contribution,

at

at a revenue equal to the local value of two hundred days labour; or of renting a house, valued on the same rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred and fifty days labour.

In towns below six thousand inhabitants that of being proprietor, valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of one hundred and fifty days labour; or of renting a house, valued on the same rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred days labour.

And, in the country, that of being proprietor or life-renter of a property, valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of one hundred and fifty days labour; or of being a farmer of lands, valued on the same rolls, at the value of four hundred days labour.

With respect to those who shall be at the same time proprietors or life-renters on one hand, and tradesmen or farmers on the other, their powers on these different accounts shall be added together, to establish their eligibility.

SECTION III.

Electoral Assemblies—Nomination of Representatives.

1. THE electors named in each department shall convene in order to choose that number of representatives whose nomination belongs to their department, and a number of substitutes equal to the third of the representatives.

The Electoral Assemblies shall form themselves, of full right, the last Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked sooner by the public officers appointed by law.

2. The representatives and substitutes shall be chosen

by an absolute majority of votes, and cannot be chosen but from amongst the active citizens in the department.

III. All the active citizens, whatever be their condition, profession, or contribution, may be chosen representatives of the nation.

IV. Those, however, shall be obliged to decide between one or other situation — Ministers, and other agents of the executive power, removeable at pleasure; Commissioners of the national treasury; Collectors and receivers of direct contributions; Superintendants of the collection or management of indirect contributions and national domains, and those who, under any denomination whatever, are attached to the employments of the military or civil household of the King.

The administrators, sub-administrators, municipal officers, and commandants of the national guards, shall also be obliged to make a choice.

V. The exercise of judiciary functions shall be incompatible with those of a representative of the nation during all the continuance of the legislature.

The judges shall be replaced by their substitutes, and the King shall provide, by briefs of commission, for the replacing of his commissaries at the tribunals.

VI. The members of the legislative body may be re-elected to the next legislature; but not afterwards, till after an interval of one legislature.

VII. The representatives named in the departments, shall not be representatives of a particular department, but of the whole nation, and no mandate can be given them.

SECTION IV.

Session and Regulation of the Primary and Electoral Assemblies.

I. THE Functions of the Primary and Electoral Assemblies are limited to the right of electing; and as soon as the Elections are over, they shall separate, and shall

shall not form themselves anew, but when they shall be convoked : if it be not in the case of Sect. II. Art. I. and of Sect. III. Art. 1. above.

II. No active citizen can enter, and vote in an assembly if he is armed.

III. Armed force cannot be introduced in the meeting, except at the express desire of the Assembly, unless in the case of actual violence, when the order of the President shall be sufficient to call in the aid of public force.

IV. Every two years, there shall be drawn up in each district, lists by cantons of the active citizens : and the list of each canton shall be published and posted up two months before the meeting of the Primary Assembly. The protests which shall be made either against the right of citizens named in the list, or on the part of those who shall affirm that they are unjustly omitted, shall be carried to the tribunals, to be there summarily decided upon.

The list shall serve to regulate the admission of citizens in the new Primary Assembly, in every point that shall not have been ascertained by a sentence pronounced before the sitting of the Assembly.

V. The Electoral Assemblies, have the right of verifying the qualifications and powers of those who present themselves there ; and their decisions shall be provisionally executed, with a reserve for the sentence of the legislative body at the time of the verification of the powers of deputies.

VI. In no case, and under no pretext, shall the King or any agents named by him, interfere in questions relative to the regulation of the convocations, the fitting of assemblies, the form of elections, or the political rights of citizens. Without prejudice, however, to the functions of the commissaries of the King, in the cases determined by law, where questions relative to the political rights of citizens ought to be carried to the tribunals.

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SECTION V.

Meeting of the Representatives in the National Legislative Assembly.

I. THE representatives shall assemble on the first Monday of May, in the place of the meeting of the last legislature.

II. They shall form themselves, provisionally, into an Assembly, under the presidency of the eldest, to verify the powers of the representatives present.

III. As soon as these shall be verified, to the number of three hundred and seventy-three members, they shall constitute themselves under the title of the *National Legislative Assembly*; they shall name a president, vice-president, and secretaries, and enter upon the exercise of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of representatives present fall short of three hundred and seventy-three, the Assembly shall not perform any legislative act. They may issue an arrêt, enjoining the absent members to attend to their functions within fifteen days at farthest, under a penalty of three thousand livres, if they do not produce an excuse which shall be deemed lawful by the legislative body.

V. On the last day of May, whatever be the number of members present, they shall constitute themselves a National Legislative Assembly.

VI. The representatives shall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people, the oath, "*to live free or die.*"

They shall then individually take the oath, *to maintain, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Constituent Assembly during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; to propose or assent to nothing in the course of the legislature, which may*

may at all tend to infringe it ; and to be, in every respect, faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King.

VII. The representatives of the nation are inviolable, they cannot be examined, accused, or judged at any time with respect to what they have said, written, or done, in the exercise of their functions as representatives.

VIII. They may for a crime be seized in the act, or in virtue of an order of arrest ; but notice shall be given of it, without delay, to the Legislative Body ; and the prosecution shall not be continued, till after the Legislative Body shall have decided that there is ground for accusation.

C H A P. II.

OF THE ROYALTY, THE REGENCY, AND THE
MINISTERS.

SECTION I.

Of the Royalty and the King.

I. **T**HE Royalty is indivisible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of the women and their descendants.

Nothing is prejudged respecting the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne.

II. The person of the king is sacred and inviolable : his only title is *King of the French*.

III. There is no authority in France superior to that of the law. The King reigns only by it, and it is only in the name of the law that he can require obedience.

IV. The king on his accession to the throne, or at the period of his majority, shall take to the Nation, in the presence of the legislative body, the oath, "*To be faithful to the Nation, and to the Law ; to employ all the power delegated to him, to maintain the Constitution*

*decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; and to cause the laws to be executed.*¹¹

If the Legislative Body shall not be assembled, the king shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed his oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall assemble.

V. If, one month after an invitation by the legislative body, the king has not taken this oath, or if after taking it he shall retract, he shall be deemed to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himself at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it against the nation; or if he do not oppose, by a formal act, any such enterprise undertaken in his name, he shall be deemed to have abdicated.

VII. If the king having gone out of the kingdom, do not return, on the invitation of the legislative body, and within the delay fixed by the proclamation, which cannot be less than two months, he shall be deemed to have abdicated.

The delay shall commence from the day when the proclamation of the legislative body shall have published in the place of its sitting; and the ministers shall be obliged under their responsibility, to perform all the acts of the executive power, the exercise of which shall be suspended, in the hands of the absent king.

VIII. After abdication, express or legal, the king shall be in the class of citizens, and may be accused and tried, like them, for acts posterior to his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which the king possesses at his accession to the throne, are irrevocably united to the domain of the nation; he has the disposition of those which he acquires on his own private account; if he has not disposed of them, they are in like manner united at the end of the reign.

X. The Nation makes provision for the splendour of the throne by a civil list, of which the Legislative Body shall

shall fix the sum at the commencement of each reign, for the whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king shall appoint an administrator of the civil list, who shall institute all suits for the king, and against whom all actions for debts of the king shall be carried on, and judgments given and executed. Sentences of condemnation, obtained by the creditors of the civil list, shall be executed against the administrator personally and his private fortune.

XII. The king shall have, independent of the honorary guard which shall be furnished him by the citizens, national guards of the place of his residence, a guard paid from the funds of the civil list. It shall not exceed one thousand two hundred foot, and six hundred horse.

The degrees and rules of advancement shall be the same in it as amongst the troops of the line. But those who compose the king's guards, shall pass through all the degrees exclusively amongst themselves, and cannot obtain any in the army of the line.

The king cannot choose his guards, but among those who are at present in active service in the troops of the line, or amongst the citizens who have served a year in the national guards, provided they are resident in the kingdom, and that they have previously taken the civic oath.

The king's guards cannot be ordered or required for any other public service.

SECTION II.

Of the Regency.

I. **THE** king is a minor till the age of eighteen complete; and during his minority there shall be a regent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the relation of the king who is next in degree according to the order of succession to the throne, and who has attained the age of twenty-five

five, provided he be a Frenchman resident in the kingdom and not presumptive heir to any other crown, and have taken the civic oath.

Women are excluded from the regency.

III. If a minor king have no relations who unite the above qualities, the regent of the kingdom shall be elected as is directed in the following articles :

IV. The Legislative Body shall not elect the regent.

V. The electors of each district shall assemble in the chief place of their district, after a proclamation, which shall be issued in the first week of the new reign, by the legislative body, if convened ; and if separated, the minister of justice shall be bound to make that proclamation in the same week.

VI. The electors shall name in every district, by individual scrutiny, and absolute plurality of votes, a citizen eligible and resident in the district, to whom they shall give by the procès-verbal of the election, a special mandate, limited to the sole function of electing the citizen whom he shall judge in his heart and conscience the most worthy of being regent of the kingdom.

VII. The citizens having these mandates, elected in the district, shall be bound to assemble in the town where the legislative body holds his seat, the fortieth day at farthest, counting from that of the advancement of the minor king to the throne ; and they shall form there the electoral assembly, who shall proceed to the nomination of the regent.

VIII. The election of the regent shall be made by individual scrutiny and absolute plurality of voices.

IX. The electoral assembly cannot employ itself, but relative to this election, and shall separate as soon as the election is finished.—Every other act which it shall attempt, is declared unconstitutional, and of no effect.

X. The electoral assembly shall make its president present the procès-verbal of the election, to the legislative body,

body, who, after having verified the regularity of the election, shall make it public over all the kingdom by a proclamation.

XI. The regent exercises, till the king's majority, all the functions of royalty, and is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

XII. The regent cannot begin the exercise of the functions, till after taking to the nation, in the presence of the legislative body, an oath, *To be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King; and to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exercise is confided to him during the minority of the king; to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791, and to cause the laws to be executed.*

If the legislative body is not assembled, the regent shall cause a proclamation to be issued, in which shall be expressed this oath, and a promise to repeat it as soon as the legislative body shall be met.

XIII. As long as the regent is not entered on the exercise of his functions, the sanction of the laws remain suspended; the ministers continue to perform, under their responsibility, all the acts of the executive power.

XIV. As soon as the regent shall take the oath, the legislative body shall fix his allowance, which shall not be altered during his regency.

XV. If on account of the minority of the relation called to the regency, it has devolved on a more distant relation, or been settled by election, the regent who shall have entered on the exercise of it shall continue his functions till the majority of the king.

XVI. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the person of the minor king.

XVI. The care of the minor king shall be confided to his mother; and if he has no mother, or if she be married again, at the time of her son's accession to the

or

throne, or if she marry again during the minority, the care of him shall be delegated by the legislative body.

Neither the regent, nor his descendants, nor a woman, can be chosen as guardian of the minor king.

XVIII. In case of the king's insanity, notoriously admitted, legally proved, and declared by the legislative body, after three successive deliberations held monthly, there shall be a regency, as long as such incapacity continues.

SECTION III.

Of the Royal Family.

I. THE presumptive heir shall bear the name of *Prince Royal*. He cannot go out of the kingdom, without a decree of the legislative body, and the king's consent.

If he is gone out of it, and if, being arrived at eighteen years of age, he do not return to France, after being required by a proclamation of the legislative body, he is held to have abdicated the right of succession to the throne.

II. If the presumptive heir be a minor, and the relation of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reside within the kingdom. In case of his going out of it, and not returning on the requisition of the legislative body, he shall be held to have abdicated the right of the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elected, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge.

If the mother of the presumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, she cannot, even after her return, have the care of her minor son, become king, but by a decree of the legislative body.

IV. A law shall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir presumptive.

V. The

V. The members of the royal family called to the eventual succession to the throne enjoy the rights of an active citizen, but are not eligible to any places, employments, or functions, in the nomination of the people.

Excepting the places of ministers, they are capable of offices and employments in the nomination of the king; however, they cannot be commanders in chief of any army or fleet, nor fulfil the functions of ambassadors, without the consent of the legislative body, granted on the proposition of the king.

VI. The members of the royal family, called to the eventual succession to the throne, shall add the denomination of *French Prince*, to the name which shall have been given him in the civil act, stating their birth; and this name can neither be patronymic, nor formed of any of the qualifications abolished by the present constitution.

The denomination of Prince cannot be given to any other individual, and shall convey no privilege, nor any exception to the common rights of all Frenchmen.

VII. The act by which shall be legally stated the births, marriages, and deaths of the French princes, shall be presented to the legislative body, who shall command the deposit of them in their archives.

VIII. No real apanage (in land) shall be granted to the members of the royal family.

The younger sons of the king shall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which shall be fixed by the legislative body, and which shall terminate with extinction of their male heirs.

SECTION IV.

Of Ministers.

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and renovation of ministers.

II. The members of the present national assembly, and the succeeding legislatures, the members of the tribunal

bunal annulment, and those who shall serve in the high jury, cannot be advanced to the ministry, nor receive any office, gifts, pensions, salaries, or commissions from the executive power, or its agents, during the continuance of their functions, or during two years after having finished the exercise of them.

The same shall be the case with respect to those who shall be only inscribed in the list of high jury, during all the time that their inscription shall continue.

III. No man can enter upon the exercise of any employ, either in the bureaux of Ministers, or in those of the administrations of public power, without having taken the civic oath, and having verified his having taken it.

IV. No order of the king can be executed, if it be not signed by him, and countersigned by the minister or comptroller of the department.

V. The ministers are responsible for all the offences committed by them against the national safety and the constitution.

For every attack on individual property and liberty ;

For every waste of money allotted for the expences of their department.

VI. In no case can the written or verbal order of the king shelter a minister from responsibility.

VII. The ministers are bound to present every year to the legislative body, at the opening of the session, the state of the expences of their department ; and to give an account of the employment of the sums destined for that purpose, and to mention the abuses which have crept into the different parts of the government.

VIII. No minister in or out of place can be criminally prosecuted for any transaction of his administration, without a decree of the legislative body.

C H A P. III.

OF THE EXERCISE OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

SECTION. I

Powers and Functions of the National Legislative Assembly.

I. **T**HE constitution delegates exclusively to the legislative body, the powers and functions following:

1. To propose and decree laws; the king can only invite the legislative body to take an objection into consideration.

2. To fix the public expences.

3. To establish the public contributions—to determine their nature, quality, duration, and mode of collection.

4. To divide the direct contribution amongst the departments of the kingdom—to superintend the employ of all the public revenue, and to demand an account of it..

5. To decree the creation or suppression of all public offices.

6. To determine the quality, weight, impression, and name of the coin.

7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of the kingdom.

8. To fix annually, after the proposition of the king, the number of men and ships of which the land and naval armies shall be composed; the pay and number of individuals of each rank; the rules of admission and promotion; the forms of enrolment and discharge; the formation of naval equipments; and admission of foreign troops or naval forces, into the service of France; and the pay of troops, in case of their being disbanded.

9. To

9. To regulate the administrative government, and the alienations of the national domains.

10. To prosecute before the high national court, the ministers and principal agents of the executive power in what relates to their responsibility.

To accuse and prosecute before the same court, those who shall be charged with any attack or conspiracy against the general safety of the state, or against the constitution.

11. To establish the laws, according to which marks of honour or decoration, purely personal, shall be granted to those who have rendered services to the state.

12. The legislative body have the right to decree public honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be determined on, but by a decree of the legislative body, passed on the formal and necessary proposition of the king, and sanctioned by him.

In the case of imminent or commenced hostilities, of any ally to supported, or a right to be preserved by force of arms, the king shall notify the same without delay to the legislative body, and shall declare the reasons of it.

If the legislative body be not sitting, the king shall assemble it immediately.

If the legislative body decide that war ought not to be made the king shall immediately take measures to stop or prevent all hostilities, the ministers being responsible for delays.

If the legislative body find that the hostilities commenced are the palpable aggression on the part of ministers, or any other agents of the executive power, the author of the aggression shall be prosecuted criminally.

During the whole course of war, the legislative body may require the king to negotiate peace, and the king is bound to yield to this requisition.

On the immediate conclusion of the war, the legislative body, shall fix the time within which the troops levied

levied above the peace establishment shall be discharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary state.

III. It belongs to the legislative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance and commerce; and no treaty shall have effect but by this ratification.

IV. The legislative body has the right of determining the place of its sittings, of continuing them as long as it shall think necessary, and of adjourning; at the commencement of each reign, if it be not fitting it shall be bound to meet without delay.

It has the right of police in the place of its sitting, and to such extent around it as shall be determined.

It has the right of discipline over its members; but it can pronounce no heavier punishment than censure, arrest for eight days, or imprisonment for three.

It has the right of disposing, for its safety, and the respect that is due to it, of the forces which shall be placed, by his consent, in the city where it shall hold its sittings.

V. The executive power cannot march, or quarter or station any troops of the line within thirty thousand toises of the legislative body, except on its requisition, or by its authority.

SECTION II.

Holding of the Sittings and Form of deliberating.

I. THE deliberation of the legislative body shall be public, and the proceedings of its sittings shall be printed.

II. The legislative body may, however, on any occasion, form itself into a *general committee*.

Fifty members shall have a right to demand this.

During the continuance of the general committee, the assistants shall retire, the chair of the president shall be vacant, and order shall be maintained by the vice-president.

III. No legislative act can be debated and decreed, except in the following form :

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IV. The plan of a decree shall be read thrice, at three intervals, the shortest of which cannot be less than eight days.

V. The discussion shall be open after every reading; nevertheless, after the first or second reading, the legislative body may declare that there is reason for adjournment, or that there is no need for deliberation; in this last case, the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the same session.

Every plan of a decree shall be printed and distributed before the second reading of it can be commenced.

VI. After the third reading, the president shall be bound to propose it to deliberation; and the legislative body shall decide, whether they are qualified to pass a definitive decree, or would rather choose to postpone their decision, in order to gather more ample information on the subject.

VII. The legislative body cannot deliberate, if the meeting do not consist of at least two hundred members; and no decree shall be made, except by the absolute majority of votes.

VIII. No plan of a law, which, after having been submitted to discussion, and shall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the same session.

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree shall announce, first the dates of those sittings at which the three readings of the plan of the decree were made; second, the decree by which it shall have been appointed, after the third reading, to decide definitively.

X. The king shall refuse his sanction to the decrees whose preamble shall not attest the observance of the above forms; if any of those decrees should be sanctioned, the ministers shall neither put to it the seal, nor promulgate it, and their responsibility in this respect shall continue six years.

XI. Excepting from these regulations, decrees recognized, and declared urgent by a previous deliberation of the
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the legislative body; but they may be modified, or revoked, in the course of the same session.

The decree by which a matter shall have been declared urgent, shall announce the reasons of it, and there shall be mention made of this previous decree in the preamble of the definitive decree.

SECTION III.

Of the Royal Sanction

I. THE decrees of the legislative body are presented to the king, who may refuse his assent to them.

II. In the case of a refusal of the royal assent, that refusal is only *suspensive*.

When the two following legislatures which shall follow that in which the decree was presented, shall successively represent the same decree in the same terms in which it was originally conceived, the king shall be deemed to have given his sanction.

III. The assent of the king is expressed to each decree by the following *formula*, signed by the king: *The king consents, and will cause it to be executed.*

The suspensive refusal is thus expressed: *The king will examine.*

IV. The king is bound to express his assent or refusal to each decree, within two months after it shall have been presented.

V. No decree to which the king has refused his assent, can be presented to him by the same legislature.

VI. The decrees sanctioned by the king, and those which have been presented to him by three successive legislatures, alone have the force of a law, and bear the name and title of *laws*.

VII. There shall be, however, executed as laws, without being subjected to sanction, those acts of the legislative body which relate to its constitution as a deliberating assembly;

Its interior police, and that which it may exercise in the external space, which it shall have determined;

The verification of the power of the members present;

The injunctions to the absent members;

The convocation of the primary assemblies in case of delay;

The exercise of constitutional superintendance over the administrators and municipal officers;

Questions of eligibility and the validity of elections.

Exempting likewise from sanction, acts relative to the responsibility of ministers, and all decrees importing that there is ground of accusation.

VIII. The decrees of the legislative body, concerning the establishment, prorogation, and collection of public contributions, shall bear the name and title of laws; they shall be promulgated and executed without being subject to sanction, except with respect to those dispositions which shall establish other penalties than pecuniary fines and constraints.

These decrees cannot be passed but after the observation of the formalities prescribed by the articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of sect. II. of the present chapter; and the legislative body shall not insert in them any disposition foreign to their object.

SECTION IV.

Connection of the Legislative Body with the King.

I. WHEN the legislative body is definitively constituted, it shall send a deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the session, and propose the objects, which during its continuance, he thinks ought to be taken into consideration; this form, however, is not to be considered as necessary to the activity of the legislative body.

II. When the legislative body wishes to adjourn longer than fifteen days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at least eight days previous.

III. A

III. A week, at least, before the end of each session, the legislative body shall send a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it proposes to terminate its sittings. The king may come, in order to close the session.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the State, that the session be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place only for a shorter time, he may send a message to this effect, on which the legislative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king shall convoke the legislative body, during the interval of its session, at all times when the interest of the state shall appear to him to require it, as well as in those cases which the legislative body shall have foreseen and determined, previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king shall visit the place of meeting of the legislative body, he shall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any except the prince royal and the ministers.

VII. The president can in no case form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legislative body shall cease to be a deliberating body while the king shall be present.

IX. The acts of correspondence of the king with the legislative body shall be always countersigned by a minister.

X. The ministers of the king shall have admission into the national legislative assembly; they shall have a place assigned to them; they shall be heard always when they demand it on subjects relative to their administration, or when they shall be required to give information. They shall also be heard on subjects foreign to their administration, when the national assembly shall grant them liberty to speak.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE EXERCISE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

I. **T**HE *supreme* executive power resides exclusively in the hands of the king.

The king is the supreme head of the general administration of the kingdom: the care of watching over the maintenance of public order and tranquillity is entrusted to him.

The king is the supreme head of the land and sea forces.

To the king is delegated the care of watching over the exterior security of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and possessions.

II. The king names ambassadors, and the other agents of political negotiations.

He bestows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of Marshal of France and Admiral.

He names two thirds of the rear-admirals, one half of the lieutenant-generals, camp marshals, captains of ships, and colonels of the national gendarmerie.

He names a third of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and a sixth of the lieutenants of ships—the whole in conformity to the laws with respect to promotion.

He appoints, in the civil administration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treasurers of the arsenals, the masters of the works, the under-masters of civil buildings, half of the masters of administration, and of the under-masters of construction.

He appoints the commissaries of the tribunals.

He appoints the chief superintendants of the administration of indirect contributions, and the administration of national domains.

He superintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers entrusted with the superintendance in the general commission and the mints.

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The effigy of the king is struck on all the coinage of the kingdom.

III. The king orders letters patent, brevets, and commissions, to be delivered to all the public offices that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a list of pensions and gratifications to be made out, for the purpose of being presented to the legislative body each session, and decreed, if there is reason for it.

SECTION I.

Of the Promulgation of Laws.

I. THE executive power is charged with ordering the seal of state to be put to laws, and causing them to be promulgated.

It is equally charged with causing to be promulgated and executed, those acts of the legislative body which have no need of the sanction of the king.

II. Two copies of each law shall be made, both signed by the king, countersigned by the minister of justice, and sealed with the seal of State. The one shall be deposited in the archives of the seal, and the other shall be sent to the archives of the legislative body.

III. The promulgation of laws shall be thus expressed:

“ N. (the king's name) by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the State, King of the French, to all present and to come, greeting. The National Assembly has decreed, and we will and ordain as follows:

(Here a literal copy of the decree shall be inserted, without any variation.)

“ We command and ordain to all administrative bodies and courts of justice, to cause these presents to be transcribed on their registers, read and published and posted up in their departments and respective places of resort, and executed as a law of the realm; in witness of which we have signed these presents, to which we have caused the seal of the State to be put.”

IV. If the king be a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts proceeding from the royal authority during the regency, shall be conceived in these terms.

“ N. (the name of the regent) regent of the kingdom, in the name of N. (the king's name) by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the State, King of the French, &c.”

V. The executive power is bound to send the laws to the administrative bodies and courts of justice, to be certified that they are so sent, and to answer for it to the legislative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even provisional, but merely proclamations, conformable to the laws, to ordain or enforce the execution.

SECTION II.

Of the Interior Administration.

I. THERE is in each department a superior administration, and in each district a subordinate administration.

II. The administrators have no character of representation.

They are agents, chosen for a time by the people, to exercise, under the superintendance and the authority of the king, the administrative functions.

III. They can neither intermeddle in the exercise of the legislative power, nor suspend the execution of the laws, nor assume any authority over judicial proceedings, nor over military regulations or operations.

IV. The administrators are essentially charged with the reparation of the direct taxes, and with the superintendance of the funds arising from all the contributions and public revenues in their territory.

It belongs to the legislative power to determine the rules and mode of their function, both with respect to the objects above mentioned, as well as with respect to all the other parts of the interior administration.

V. The king has the right of annulling such acts of
the

the administrators of departments, as are contrary to the law, or the orders he has transmitted to them.

He may, in case of obstinate disobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the public, suspend them from their functions.

VI. The administrators of department have also the right of annulling the acts of the sub-administrators of district, contrary to the laws or to the orders of administrators of department, or to the orders which the latter shall have given or transmitted.

They may likewise, in case of an obstinate disobedience on the part of the sub-administrators, or if the latter endanger, by their acts, the public safety or tranquillity, suspend them from their functions, with the reserve of informing the king, who may remove or confirm the suspension.

VII. The king, if the administrators of the department shall not use the power which is delegated to them in the article above, may directly annul the acts of sub-administrators, and suspend them in the same cases.

VIII. Whenever the king shall pronounce or confirm the suspension of administrators, or sub-administrators, he shall inform the legislative body. This body may either remove or confirm the suspension, or even dissolve the culpable administration; and, if there be ground, remit all the administrators, or some of them, to the criminal tribunals, or enforce against them the decree of accusation.

SECTION III.

Of External Connections.

I. THE King alone can keep up foreign political connections, conduct negotiations, make preparations of war proportioned to those of the neighbouring states; distribute the land and sea forces, as he shall judge most suitable, and regulate their direction in case of war.

II. Every declaration of war shall be made in these

words: *By the King of the French, in the Name of the Nation.*

III. It belongs to the King to resolve and sign with all foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, and other conventions which he shall judge necessary for the welfare of the State, with a reserve for the ratification of the legislative body.

C H A P. V.

OF THE JUDICIAL POWER,

I. **T**HE judicial power can in no case be exercised, either by the legislative body or the king.

II. Justice shall be gratuitously rendered, by judges chosen for a time by the people, instituted by letters patent of the king, who cannot refuse to grant them. They cannot be deposed, but for forfeiture duly judged; nor suspended, but for an accusation admitted.

The public accusers shall be named by the people.

III. The tribunals cannot either interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or suspend the execution of the laws, or undertake the administrative functions, or cite before them the administrators, on account of their functions.

IV. The citizens cannot be withdrawn from the judges whom the law assigns to them by any commission, or by any other attributions or evocations than those which are determined by the laws.

V. The right of the citizens to terminate definitively their disputes by the way of arbitration, shall receive no infringement from the acts of the legislative power.

VI. The ordinary courts of justice cannot receive any civil action, until it be certified to them that the parties have appeared, or that the pursuer has cited the opposite party to appear before *mediators*, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation.

VII. There

VII. There shall be one or more judges of peace in the canton and in the towns. The number of them shall be determined by the legislative power.

VIII. It belongs to the legislative power to regulate the number and extent of jurisdiction of the tribunals, and the number of judges of which each tribunal shall be composed.

IX. In *criminal* matters, no citizen can be tried, but on an accusation received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pursue the accusation.

After the admission of the accusation, the fact shall be recognized and declared by a jury.

The accused shall have a right to refuse, as far as twenty jurors without assigning reasons.

The jury which declares the fact, cannot be fewer than twelve members.

The application of the law shall be made by judges.

The instruction of the process shall be public, and the assistance of counsel cannot be refused to the accused.

No man acquitted by a lawful jury, can be retaken or accused on account of the same fact.

X. No man can be seized upon, but in order to be conducted before an officer of police; and no man can be arrested or detained, but in virtue of a mandate of the officers of police; of an order for personal arrestation by a tribunal; of a decree of accusation of the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pronounce; or of a sentence of imprisonment or detention for the sake of correction.

XI. Every man seized upon and conducted before an officer of police, shall be examined immediately, or at least in twenty-four hours.

If it result from the examination, that there be no ground for blame against him, he shall be directly set at liberty; or if there be ground to send him to a house of arrest,

arrest, he shall be conducted there with the least delay possible, and that in any case cannot exceed three days.

XII. No man arrested can be detained if he give sufficient bail, in all cases where the law permits a man to remain free under bail.

XIII. No man, in the cases where detention is authorized by the law, can be conducted or detained any where, but in those places legally and publicly marked out as houses of arrest, of justice, or prisons.

XIV. No guard nor jailor can receive or detain any man, but in virtue of a mandate, order of arrest, decree of accusation, or sentence mentioned in the tenth article above, nor without transcribing them in his own register.

XV. Every guard or jailor is bound, and no order can release him from the obligation, to produce the person detained to the civil officer who superintends the police of the house of arrest, as often as it shall be required of him.

The production of the person detained, cannot also be refused to his relations and friends, who bring an order from a civil officer, who shall be bound always to grant it, unless the guard or jailor produce an order from a judge, transcribed in his register, to keep the person arrested secret.

XVI. Every man, whatever be his place or occupation, except those to whom the law confides the right of arrestation, who shall give, sign, execute, or make to be executed, an order to arrest a citizen; or whoever, even in the cases of arrestation authorized by the law, shall conduct, receive, or detain a citizen, in a place of detention not publicly and legally marked out; and every guard or jailor who shall act in opposition to the deposition of the above XIV. and XV. articles, shall be culpable of the crime of arbitrary detention.

XVII. No man can be taken up, or prosecuted, on account of the writings which he has made to be printed or published, whatever be their subject, if he has not
designedly

designedly provoked disobedience to the law, outrage to the established powers, and resistance to their acts, or any of the actions declared crimes or offences by the law.

The censure of all the acts of the established powers is permitted; but voluntary calumnies against the probity of public officers, and against the rectitude of their intentions in the exercise of their functions, may be prosecuted by those who are the subjects of them.

Calumnies or injurious sayings against any kind of persons, relative to the actions of their private life, shall be punished by prosecution.

XVIII. No man can be judged, either civilly or criminally, for the act of writing, printing, or publishing, except it has been recognized and declared by a jury, 1st, that there is an offence in the writing denounced; 2^d, that the person prosecuted is guilty of it.

XIX. There shall be, for the whole kingdom, one only tribunal of annulment, established near the legislative body. Its functions shall be to pronounce

On demands of annulment of judgments given in the last resort by the tribunals;

On demands of being remitted from one tribunal to another, for lawful causes of suspicion;

On regulations respecting judges, and suits against a whole tribunal.

XX. In questions of annulment, the tribunal of annulment shall never take cognizance of the affair itself; but after having annulled the sentence which shall have been pronounced in a process, and in which the forms have been violated, or which shall contain an express contradiction of the law, it shall remit the original affair to the tribunal which ought to decide on it.

XVI. When, after being twice annulled, a sentence pronounced by a third tribunal shall be attacked on the same grounds as at first, the question shall no more be judged by the tribunal of annulment, without having been submitted to the legislative body, who shall pass a decree

decree declarative of the law, to which the tribunal of annulment shall be bound to conform.

XXII. Every year, the tribunal of annulment shall be bound to send to the bar of the legislative body a deputation of eight of its members, to present a state of the decisions passed; on the margin of each of which shall be placed a short account of the affair, and the text of the law which shall have determined the decision.

XXIII. A high national court, formed of the members of the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, shall take cognizance of the offences committed by the ministers and principal agents of the executive power, and of those crimes which attack the general safety of the state, after the legislative body shall have passed a decree for accusation.

It shall not be assembled but at the proclamation of the legislative body, and at the distance of thirty thousand toises at least from the place where the legislative body holds its meetings.

XXIV. The orders issued for executing the judgments of the tribunals shall be conceived in these terms:

“ N. (the name of the king) by the grace of God, and by the constitutional law of the State, King of the French, to all present and to come, greeting. The tribunal of———has passed the following judgment:”—
(Here shall follow a copy of the judgment, in which shall be mentioned the names of the judges.)

“ We charge and enjoin all officers, upon the present demand, to put the same judgment into execution, our commissaries of the tribunals to enforce the same, and all the commanders and officers of the public force to be assisting with their force, when it shall be legally required: in witness of which, the present judgment has been signed by the president of the tribunal, and by the register.”

XXV. The functions of the king's commissaries in the tribunals shall be, to require the observance of the laws in the judgments to be given, and to cause them to be executed after they are passed. They

They shall not be public accusers; but they shall be heard on all accusations, and shall require, during process, regularity of forms, and, before judgment, application of the law.

XXVI. The king's commissaries in the tribunals shall denounce to the director of the jury, either officially or according to orders given them by the king;

Offences against the individual liberty of citizens, against the free circulation of provisions and other objects of commerce, and against the collection of contributions;

Offences by which the execution of orders given by the king, in the exercise of the functions delegated to him, shall be disturbed or impeded;

Infringements on the laws of nations; opposition to the execution of judgments; and to all executive acts proceeding from established powers.

XXVII. The minister of justice shall denounce to the tribunal of appeal, by means of the king's commissary, and without prejudice to the rights of the parties interested, the acts in which the judges have exceeded the bounds of their power.

The tribunal shall annul these acts; and if they give ground for forfeiture, the fact shall be presented to the legislative body, which shall pass the decree of accusation if there be ground, and refer the parties informed against to the high national court.

T I T L E I V .

OF THE PUBLIC FORCE.

I. THE public force is instituted to defend the State against external enemies, and to maintain internal order and the execution of the laws.

II. It is composed of the land and sea armies; of the troops especially destined for home service; and, subsidiarily, of the active citizens, and their children of age to bear arms, registered in the roll of national guards.

III. The

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an institution in the state; they are the citizens themselves, called to assist the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themselves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a legal requisition or authority.

V. They are subject in this quality to an organization, to be determined by the law.

They shall be distinguished in the whole kingdom by only one form of discipline, and one uniform.

Distinctions of rank and subordination subsist only relatively to the service, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are chosen for a time, and cannot again be chosen till after a certain interval of service as soldiers.

None shall command the national guard of more than one district.

VII. All the parts of the public force employed for the safety of the state from foreign enemies, shall act under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can enter the house of a citizen, if it be not on purpose to execute the orders of police and of justice, or in cases formally provided for by the law.

X. The requisition of the public force, in the internal part of the kingdom, belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legislative power.

XI. When any department is throughout in a state of commotion, the king shall issue, under the responsibility of ministers, the necessary orders for the execution of laws, and the re-establishment of order; but with the reserve of informing the legislative body if it be assembled, and of convoking it if it be not sitting.

XII. The public force is *essentially obedient*; no armed body can deliberate.

XIII. The

XIII. The land and sea armies, and the troops destined to preserve internal security, are subjected to particular laws, both for the maintenance and discipline, and for the manner of judgments, and the nature of punishments, on occasion of military offences.

TITLE V.

OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. PUBLIC contributions shall be debated and fixed every year by the legislative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the last day of the following session, if they are not expressly renewed.

II. The funds necessary to the discharge of the national debt, and the payment of the civil list, can, under no pretext, be refused or suspended.

The salaries of the ministers of the catholic religion, who are paid, preserved, elected, or named in virtue of the decrees of the National Constituent Assembly, form a part of the national debt.

The legislative body cannot, in any case, charge the Nation with the payment of the debts of any individual.

III. The accounts at full length of the ministerial department, signed and certified by the ministers or commissioners, shall be rendered public, by being printed at the commencement of the session of each legislature.

So shall also the state of receipts of the different taxes, and all public revenues.

The state of receipt and expenditure shall be distinguished according to their nature, and shall express the sums received and disbursed, year by year, in each district.

The private expences of each department, and those relative to the tribunals, the administrative bodies, and other establishments, shall be rendered public.

IV. The administrators of department, and sub-administrators, can neither establish any public contribution, nor make any distribution beyond the time and the sums fixed

fixed by the legislative body; nor deliberate, or permit, without being authorized by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

V. The executive power directs and superintends the collection and paying in of contributions, and gives all the necessary orders to this effect.

TITLE VI.

OF THE CONNECTION OF THE FRENCH NATION WITH OTHER NATIONS.

THE French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view to make conquests, and will never employ its forces against the liberties of any people.

The constitution no longer admits the *Droit d'Aubaine*.

Foreigners, whether settled in France or not, inherit the property of their parents, whether foreigners or Frenchmen.

They can contract, acquire, and receive property situated in France, and dispose of it, as well as any French citizen, in every mode authorized by the laws.

Foreigners in France are subject to the same criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens, with a reserve for conventions agreed on with foreign powers. Their persons, effects, industry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

TITLE VII.

OF THE REVISION OF CONSTITUTIONAL DECREES.

I. THE National Constituent Assembly declares, that the nation has an imprescriptible right to change its constitution; and nevertheless, considering that it is most suitable to the national interest to make use, only by means appointed by the constitution itself, of the right of reforming those articles, which experience shall demonstrate the inconvenience of, decrees, that the
assembly

assembly of revision shall proceed in the following manner :

II. When three following legislatures shall have declared an uniform wish for the change of any constitutional article, the revision demanded shall take place.

III. The ensuing legislature (that commencing in 1791) cannot propose the reform of any constitutional article.

IV. Of the three legislatures who shall successively propose any changes, the first two shall not occupy themselves relative to that object, but in the two last months of their last session, and the third at the end of its first annual session, or at the beginning of the second.

Their deliberations on that matter shall be subjected to the same forms as the legislative acts ; but the decrees by which they shall have expressed their desires, shall not be subjected to the sanction of the king.

V. The fourth legislature, augmented by two hundred and forty-nine members chosen in each department, by doubling the ordinary number which it furnishes for its population, shall constitute the assembly of revision.

These two hundred and forty-nine members shall be elected after the nomination of representatives to the legislative body shall have been terminated, and there shall be formed a separate procès-verbal of it.

The assembly of revision shall not be composed of more than one chamber.

VI. The members of the third legislature, who shall have demanded a change, cannot be elected in the assembly of revision.

VII. The members of the assembly of revision, after having pronounced all at once the oath "*to live free or die,*" shall individually swear, *to confine themselves to decide on the objects which shall have been submitted to them by the unanimous wish of three successive legislatures ; and to maintain, in other respects, with all their power, the constitution of the kingdom decreed by the*

National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791 ; and to be in all faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King.

• VIII. The assembly of revision shall be bound to occupy itself afterwards, and without delay, in the objects which shall have been submitted to its examination ; and as soon as this task is finished, the two hundred and forty-nine new members, named over and above, shall retire, without taking a part in any case in the *legislative acts*.

The French colonies and possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, although they make a part of the French empire, are not included in the present constitution.

None of the powers instituted by the constitution have a right to change it in its whole, or in its parts, excepting the reforms which may be made in it by the mode of revision, conformably to the regulations of Title VII. above.

The National Constituent Assembly commits the deposit of it to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the king and of the judges, to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives, and to mothers, to the attachment of young citizens, to the courage of all Frenchmen.

The decrees passed by the National Assembly, which are not included in the act of constitution, shall be executed as laws ; and those anterior laws which it has not altered, shall also be observed so long as they shall not be revoked or modified by the legislative power.

(Signed) VERNIER, President.

POUGEARD,	}	Secretaries.
COUPPE,		
MAILLY,		
CHATEAU-RENARD,		
CHAILLON,		
AUBBY (Bishop of the Department of the Meuse),		
DARCHE,		

NEW

NEW DECLARATION
OF THE
RIGHTS OF MAN;

AGREED TO BY THE CONVENTION, ON SUNDAY JUNE 23,
1793.

THE French people, convinced that forgetfulness of, and contempt for, the natural rights of man are the only causes of the crimes and misfortunes of the world, have resolved to expose, in a Declaration, their sacred and unalienable rights, in order that all citizens, being able always to compare the acts of government with the end of every social institution, may never suffer themselves to be oppressed and degraded by tyranny; and that the people may always have before their eyes the basis of their liberty and happiness; the Magistrates the rule of their duty; and the Legislature the object of their mission—

They acknowledge therefore and proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF
CITIZENS.

Article I. The end of society is common happiness. Government is instituted to secure to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

II. These rights are Equality, Liberty, Safety, and Property.

III. All men are equal by nature and before the Law.

IV. The Law is the free and solemn expression of the general will. It ought to be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. It cannot order but what is just and useful to Society. It cannot forbid but what is hurtful.

V. All Citizens are equally admissible to public employments. Free people avow no other motives of preference in their elections than virtue and talents.

VI Liberty is that power which belongs to a man, of doing every thing that does not hurt the rights of another : its principle is nature ; its rule is justice ; its protection the law ; and its moral limits are defined by this maxim, " Do not to another what you would not wish done to yourself."

VII. The right of manifesting one's thoughts and opinions, either by the press, or in any other manner : the right of assembling peaceably, and the free exercise of religious worship, cannot be forbidden. The necessity of announcing these rights supposes either the presence or the recent remembrance of despotism.

VIII. Whatever is not forbidden by the law cannot be prevented. No one can be forced to do that which it does not order.

IX. Safety consists in the protection granted by the society to each citizen for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property.

X. The law avenges public and individual liberty of the abuses committed against them by power.

XI. No person can be accused, arrested, or confined, but in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it prescribes. Every citizen summoned or seized by the authority of the law ought immediately to obey ; he renders himself culpable by resistance.

XII. Every act exercised against a man to which the cases in the law do not apply, and in which its forms are not observed, is arbitrary and tyrannical. Respect for the laws forbids him to submit to such acts ; and if attempts are made to execute them by violence, he has a right to repel force by force.

XIII. Those who shall solicit, dispatch, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary act, are culpable and ought to be punished.

XIV. Every man being supposed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it is judged indispensable to arrest him, all severity not necessary to secure his person ought to be strictly repressed by the law.

XV. No

XV. No one ought to be tried and punished until he has been legally summoned, and in virtue of a law published previous to the commission of the crime. A law which should punish crimes committed before it existed would be tyrannical. The retroactive effect given to a law would be a crime.

XVI. The law ought not to decree any punishments but such as are strictly and evidently necessary: punishment ought to be proportioned to the crime, and useful to society.

XVII. The right of property is that right which belongs to every citizen to enjoy and dispose of according to his pleasure, his property, revenues, labour, and industry.

XVIII. No kind of labour, culture, or commerce, can be forbidden to the industrious citizen.

XIX. Every man may engage his services and his time, but he cannot sell himself; his person is not alienable property. The law does not acknowledge servitude; there can exist only an engagement of care and gratitude between the man who labours and the man who employs him.

XX. No one can be deprived of the smallest portion of his property, without his consent, except when the public necessity, legally ascertained, evidently requires it, and on condition of a just and previous indemnification.

XXI. No contribution can be established but for general utility, and to relieve the public wants. Every citizen has a right to concur in the establishment of contributions, to watch over the use made of them, and to call for a statement of their expenditure.

XXII. Public aids are a sacred debt. The society is obliged to provide for the subsistence of the unfortunate, either by procuring them work, or by securing the means of existence to those who are unable to labour.

XXIII. Instruction is the want of all, and the society ought to favour, with all its power, the progress of public reason; and to place instruction within the reach of every citizen.

XXIV. The

XXIV. The social guarantee consists in the actions of all, to secure to each the enjoyment and preservation of his rights. This guarantee rests on the National Sovereignty.

XXV. The social guarantee cannot exist if the limits of public functions are not clearly determined by the law, and if the responsibility of all public functionaries is not secured.

XXVI. The Sovereignty resides in the People ; it is one and indivisible, imprescriptible and inalienable.

XXVII. No portion of the people can exercise the power of the whole : but each Section of the Sovereign assembled ought to enjoy the right of expressing its will in perfect liberty. Every individual who arrogates to himself the Sovereignty, or who usurps the exercise of it ought to be put to death by free men.

XXVIII. A people have always the right of revising, amending, and changing their Constitution. One generation cannot subject to its laws future generations.

XXIX. Every citizen has an equal right of concurring in the formation of the law, and in the nomination of his mandatories or agents.

XXX. Public functions cannot be considered as distinctions or rewards, but as duties.

XXXI. Crimes committed by the mandatories of the people and their agents ought never to remain unpunished. No one has a right to pretend to be more inviolable than other citizens.

XXXII. The right of presenting petitions to the Depositories of Public Authority belongs to every individual. The exercise of this right cannot, in any case, be forbidden, suspended, or limited.

XXXIII. Resistance to oppression is the consequence of the other rights of man.

XXXIV. Oppression is exercised against the social body, when even one of its members is oppressed. Oppression is exercised against each member, when the social body is oppressed.

XXXV. When

XXXV. When the Government violates the rights of the people, insurrection becomes to the people, and to every portion of the people, the most sacred and the most indispensable of duties.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT.

OF THE REPUBLIC.

Art. 1. The French Republic is one and indivisible.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.

2. The French People are divided, for the exercise of the sovereignty, in Primary Assemblies of Cantons.

3. For the administration of justice they are divided into Departments, Districts, and Municipalities.

OF THE STATE OF CITIZENS.

4. Every man born and resident in France, of the age of twenty-one years complete, who has resided a year in France, who has acquired property, married a French woman, adopted a child, or maintained an aged person; in short, every foreigner who shall be judged by the Legislative Body to have deserved well by his humanity, shall be admitted to exercise the rights of a French citizen.

5. The exercise of the rights of Citizens shall be lost by being naturalized in a foreign country, by accepting functions or favours from a Government not popular, and by condemnation to disgraceful or penal punishments.

6. The exercise of the rights of Citizens shall be suspended by a state of accusation; and by being declared contumacious, as long as the sentence is not reversed.

OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

7. The Sovereign People are the universality of the French Citizens.

8. They shall immediately name the Deputies.

9. They shall delegate to electors the choice of Administrators, Public Arbitrators, Criminal Judges, and Judges of Appeal.

10. They shall deliberate on laws.

OF

OF PRIMARY ASSEMBLIES.

11. Primary Assemblies shall be composed of Citizens who have resided six months in each canton.

12. They shall consist of two hundred Citizens at least, or six hundred at most, called to vote.

13. They shall be constituted by the nomination of a President, Secretaries, and Scrutineers.

14. Their police shall belong to them.

15. No person can appear there with arms.

16. The Electors shall be made by scrutiny, or openly by the voice of each voter.

17. A Primary Assembly cannot in any case prescribe an uniform mode of voting.

18. The Scrutineers shall certify the votes of Citizens who, not being able to write, prefer voting by scrutiny.

19. The suffrages on laws shall be given by *yes* or *no*.

20. The will of the Primary Assembly shall be proclaimed as follows: "*The Citizens united in the Primary Assembly of———to the number of———Voters, vote (for or against) by a majority of———.*"

OF THE NATIONAL REPRESENTATION.

21. Population is the sole basis of the National Representation.

22. There is one deputy for every forty thousand individuals.

23. Each re-union of Primary assemblies resulting from a population of from thirty-nine to forty-one thousand souls, nominates directly one Deputy.

24. The nomination is made by the absolute majority of suffrages.

25. Each assembly casts up the suffrages, and sends a Commissioner for the general casting up to the place pointed out as the most central.

26. If the casting up does not give an absolute majority, a second vote is proceeded to, and the votes are taken for the two citizens who had the most votes.

27. In

27. In case of equality of voices, the eldest has the preference, either to be on the ballot, or elected. In case of equality of age, lot decides.

28. Every Frenchman, exercising the rights of citizen, is eligible through the extent of the Republic.

29. Every Deputy belongs to the whole nation.

30. In case of the non-acceptance, resignation, forfeiture, or death of a Deputy, he is replaced by the Primary Assemblies who nominated him.

31. A Deputy who has given in his resignation cannot quit his post but after the admission of his successor.

32. The French people assemble every year on the first of May for elections.

33. It proceeds in them, whatever be the number of citizens present having a right to vote.

34. Primary assemblies are formed on extraordinary occasions, on the demand of a fifth of the citizens, who have a right to vote in them.

35. The convocation is made, in this case, by the Municipality of the ordinary place of meeting.

36. These extraordinary Assemblies do not deliberate but when one more than the half of the citizens who have a right to vote in them are present.

OF THE ELECTORAL ASSEMBLIES.

37. The citizens met, in Primary Assemblies, nominate one elector for every two hundred citizens, present or not, two for from two hundred and one to four hundred, and three from four hundred and one to six hundred.

38. The holding of the Electoral Assemblies, and the mode of elections, are the same as the Primary Assemblies.

OF THE PRIMARY ASSEMBLIES.

39. The Legislative Body is one, indivisible and permanent.

40. Its session is for a year.

41. It meets the first of July. ¶

42. The National Assembly cannot be constituted if
it

it does not consist of one more than the half of the deputies.

43. The Deputies cannot be examined, accused, or tried at any time, for the opinions they have delivered in the Legislative Body.

44. They may, for a criminal act, be seized *en flagrant delit*; but a warrant of arrest, or a warrant summoning to appear, cannot be granted against them unless authorized by the Legislative Body.

HOLDING OF THE SITTINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

45. The sittings of the National Assembly are public.

46. The minutes of its sittings are printed.

47. It cannot deliberate, if it be not composed of two hundred members at the least.

48. It cannot refuse to hear its Members speak in the order in which they have demanded to be heard.

49. It deliberates by a majority of the Members present.

50. Fifty members have a right to require the *appeal nominal*.

51. It has the right of censure on the conduct of its Members within itself.

52. The police appertains to it in the place of its sittings, and in the external circuit which it has determined.

OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

53. The Legislative Body proposes laws and passes decrees.

54. Under the general name of Laws are comprehended the acts of the Legislative Body concerning the legislation civil and criminal—the general administration of the revenues, and of the ordinary expences of the Republic—the national domains—the title, the weight, the impression, and the denomination of money—the nature, the amount, and the collection of contributions—the declaration of war—every new general distribution of the French territory—the public instruction—the public honours to the memory of great men.

55. Under

55. Under the particular name of *Decrees* are included the acts of the Legislative Body concerning the annual establishment of the land and sea forces—the permission or the prohibition of the passage of foreign troops through the French territory—the introduction of foreign naval forces into the ports of the Republic—the measure of general safety and tranquillity—the annual and occasional distribution of public succours and works—the orders for the fabrication of money of every kind—the unforeseen and extraordinary expences—the measures local and particular to an administration, a commune, or a kind of public works—the defence of the territory—the ratification of treaties—the nomination and the removal of commanders in chief of armies—the prosecution of the responsibility of Members of the Council, and the public functionaries—the accusation of persons charged with plots against the general safety of the Republic—all change in the partial distribution of the French territory—national recompences.

OF THE FORMATION OF THE LAW.

56. The plans of Law are produced by a report.

57. The discussion cannot be opened, and the law cannot be provisionally resolved upon until fifteen days after the report.

58. The plan is printed and sent to all the Communes of the Republic. under this title: *Law proposed*.

59. Forty days after the sending of the law proposed, if in one more than half of the departments, the tenth of the Primary assemblies of each, regularly formed, have not objected to it, the plan is accepted and becomes *law*.

60. If there be an objection, the Legislative Body convokes the Primary Assemblies.

OF THE ENTITLING OF LAWS AND DECREES.

61. Laws, decrees, judgments, and all public acts are entitled: *In the name of the French people, the* ——— year of the French Republic.

OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

62. There is one Executive Council composed of twenty-four Members.

63. The Electoral Assembly of each Department nominates one candidate. The legislative body chooses the Members of the Council from the general list.

64. One half of it is renewed by each legislature in the last month of the session.

65. The Council is charged with the direction and superintendance of the general Administration. It cannot act but in execution of the laws and decrees of the legislative Body.

66. It nominates, not of its own body, the Agents in chief of the general Administration of the Republic.

67. The legislative Body determines the number, and the functions, of those Agents.

68. These Agents do not form a Council. They are separated, without any immediate correspondence between them, they exercise no personal authority,

69. The Council nominates, not of its own body, the external Agents of the Republic.

70. It negotiates treaties.

71. The Members of Council, in case of malversation, are accused by the legislative Body.

72. The Council is responsible for the non-execution of laws and decrees, and for abuses which it does not denounce.

73. It recalls and replaces the Agents in its nomination.

74. It is bound to denounce them, if there be occasion, before the Judicial Authorities.

OF THE CONNECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WITH THE EXECUTIVE BODY.

75. The Executive Council resides near the legislative Body. It has admittance and a separate seat in the place of sittings.

76. It is heard as often as it has an account to give.

77. The legislative Body calls it into the place of its sittings, in whole or in part, when it thinks fit.

OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND MUNICIPAL BODIES.

78. There is a Municipal Administration in each commune of the Republic—in each district an intermediate Administration—in each department a central Administration.

79. The Municipal Officers are elected by the Assemblies of the Commune.

80. The Administrators are nominated by the Electoral Assemblies of department and district.

81. The Municipalities and the Administrations are renewed, one half every year.

82. The Administrators and Municipal Officers have no character of representation—they cannot in any case, modify the acts of the legislative Body, or suspend the execution of them.

83. The legislative Body determines the functions of the Municipal Officers and Administrators, the rules of their subordination, and the penalties they may incur.

84. The sittings of Municipalities and Administrations are public.

OF CIVIL JUSTICE.

85. The code of civil and criminal laws is uniform for all the Republic.

86. No infringement can be made of the right which citizens have to cause their differences to be pronounced upon by arbitrators of their own choice.

87. The decision of these arbitrators is final, if the citizens have not reserved the right of objecting to them.

88. There are Justices of Peace elected by the citizens into circuits determined by the law.

89. They conciliate and judge without expence.

90. Their number and their competence are regulated by the legislative Body.

91. There are public Arbitrators elected by the Electoral Assemblies.

92. Their number and their circuits are fixed by the legislative Body.

93. They

93. They take cognizance of disputes which have not been finally terminated by the private Arbitrators or the Justices of Peace.

94. They deliberate in public—they give their opinions aloud—they pronounce in the last resort, on verbal defences, or simple memorials, without *procedures*, and without expence—they assign the reasons of their decisions.

OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

95. In criminal cases, no citizen can be tried, but on an accusation received by a Jury, or decreed by the legislative Body—the accused have Counsel chosen by themselves, or nominated officially—the process is public—the fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment—the punishment is applied by a criminal tribunal.

OF PUBLIC CONTRIBUTIONS.

96. No citizen is exempted from the honourable obligation of contributing to the public charges.

OF THE FORCE OF THE REPUBLIC.

97. The general force of the Republic is composed of the whole people.

98. The Republic maintains in its pay, even in time of peace, an armed force, by sea and land.

99. All the French are soldiers; they are all exercised in the use of arms.

100. There is no Generalissimo.

101. Difference of ranks, their distinctive marks and subordination, subsist only with relation to service and during its continuance.

102. The public force employed for maintaining order and peace in the interior, does not act but on the requisition, in writing, of the constituted authorities.

103. The public force employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the Executive Council.

104. No armed body can deliberate.

OF NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

105. If in one more than the half of the Departments, the tenth of the Primary Assemblies of each, regularly formed, demand the revision of the Constitutional Act, or the change of some of its articles, the legislative Body is bound to convoke all the Primary Assemblies of the Republic, to know if there be ground for a National Convention.

106. The National Convention is formed in the same manner as the legislatures, and unites in itself their powers.

OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

107. The French people is the friend and the natural ally of every free people.

108. It does not interfere in the Government of other nations. It does not suffer other nations to interfere in its own.

109. It gives an asylum to foreigners banished from their country for the cause of liberty; it refuses it to tyrants.

110. It does not make peace with an enemy that occupies its territory.

OF THE GUARANTEE OF RIGHTS.

111. The Constitution guarantees to all the French, equality, liberty, safety, property, the public debt, the free exercise of worship, a common instruction, public succours, the indefinite liberty of the press, the right of petition, the right of meeting in popular societies, the enjoyment of all the rights of man.

112. The French Republic honours loyalty, courage, age, filial piety, misfortune—It puts the deposit of its Constitution under the guard of all the virtues.

(Signed) COLLOT D'HERBOIS, President.
DURAND-MAILLANE, DUCOS, &c. Secretaries.

The

The New FRENCH CALENDAR for the present
Year, commencing Sept. 22.

Names of Months. English. Term.

AUTUMN.

Vindemaire	Vintage Month	from Sept. 22 to Oct. 21
Brumaire	Fog Month	— Oct. 22 to Nov. 20
Frumaire	Sleet Month	— Nov. 20 to Dec. 20

WINTER.

Nivos	Snow Month	— Dec. 21 to Jan. 19
Pluvios	Rain Month	— Jan. 20 to Feb. 18
Ventos	Wind Month	— Feb. 19 to March 20.

SPRING.

Germinal	Sprouts Month	— March 21 to April 19
Floreal	Flowers Month	— April 20 to May 19
Priereal	Pasture Month	— May 20 to June 18

SUMMER.

Messidor	Harvest Month	— June 19 to July 18
Fervidor	Hot Month	— July 19 to Aug. 17
Fructidor	Fruit Month	— Aug. 18 to Sept. 16.

Sans Culotides, as Feasts dedicated to

Les Vertus	The Virtues	Sept. 17
Le Genie	Genius	Sept. 18
Le Travail	Labour	Sept. 19
L'Opinion	Opinion	Sept. 20
Les Recompenses	Rewards	Sept 21.

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called *La Sans Culotide*; on which there is to be a national renovation of their oath, "*To live free or die.*" The month is divided into three decades, the days of which are called, from the Latin numerals,

1. *Primidi.* 2. *Duodi.* 3. *Tridi.* 4. *Quartidi.*
5. *Quintidi.* 6. *Sextidi.* 7. *Septidi.* 8. *Octodi.*
9. *Nonodi.* 10. *Decadi,* which is to be the day of rest.

FINIS.

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